



JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

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Near East & South Asia

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CONTENTS

22 November 1994

ISLAMIC AFFAIRS

Egyptian Mufti Backs Saudi 'Ulama' [UKAZ 22 Oct]	1
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NEAR EAST

Regional Affairs

Corruption Seen as Major Economic, Social Issue	2
Impact on Morocco, Saudi Arabia, UAE Assessed [London AL-MAJALLAH 31 Jul]	2
Consequences in Egypt, Kuwait Considered [London AL-MAJALLAH 7 Aug]	6

Palestinian Affairs

Jordanian Water Claims Cause Concern [Jerusalem AL-QUDS 18 Sep]	9
National Movement, Democracy in Crisis [Jerusalem AL-QUDS 22 Sep]	10

Algeria

Islamic Strongholds Identified [LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR 04 May]	12
---	----

Egypt

French Views on Middle East Arms Market [AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI 28 Sep]	16
---	----

Iraq

U.S. Said Responsible For Nuclear Proliferation in Asia [ALIF BA' 7 Sep]	19
Interruptions in Baghdad Water Supply Viewed [ALIF BA' 7 Sep]	21

Israel

Golan Residents' Support for Withdrawal Reported [YEDI'OT AHARONOT 4 Oct]	23
---	----

Saudi Arabia

Commentary on U.S. Superpower Role [UKAZ 5 Oct]	25
Gulf Income Diversification Discussed [UKAZ 5 Oct]	26
Mecca Water, Sanitation Projects Outlined [UKAZ 6 Oct]	26
Citizen Dissatisfaction with Magistrates' Services [UKAZ 24 Oct]	27

Republic of Yemen

Bajamal Discusses Wide Range of Issues [London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 14 Oct]	28
Report on YSP Secretary General Interview [London AL-HAYAH 15 Oct]	34

SOUTH ASIA

India

Rao Meets With Newsmen After Singapore Visit [DECCAN CHRONICLE 10 Sep]	36
Multibarrel Rocket Launcher for Army Tested [THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 11 Sep]	36

Papers Report on Visit of UN Secretary General	36
Remarks to Press [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 11 Sep]	36
Mediation Offer Rejected [THE TIMES OF INDIA 13 Sep]	37
Further Reaction To Entry of Foreign Media Reported	37
BJP President Advani [THE TIMES OF INDIA 12 Sep]	37
Indian Newspaper Society [THE TIMES OF INDIA 16 Sep]	38
Newspaper Industry Organizations [DECCAN CHRONICLE 12 Sep]	39
Reserve Bank of India Releases Annual Report [THE STATESMAN 13 Sep]	40
More on Uganda President's Visit, Business Pact Signed [THE TIMES OF INDIA 13 Sep]	40
Analyst Writes on PRC Defense Minister's Visit [THE TIMES OF INDIA 14 Sep]	41
Statement on Ayodhya Filed Before Supreme Court	42
Details of Filing [THE STATESMAN 15 Sep]	42
Text of Statement [THE STATESMAN 15 Sep]	42
Amnesty Urges More Serious Response to 1993 Report [THE STATESMAN 16 Sep]	43
Papers Report Meeting of BJP National Executive	44
Advani Opens Meeting [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Sep]	44
Vajpayee on Nuclear Dangers [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Sep]	44
Charges Against Rao Government [THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA 18 Sep]	45
Apolitical Trust To Build Temple at Ayodhya [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Sep]	46
Sikkim Governor Resigns, New Punjab Governor [THE SUNDAY STATESMAN 18 Sep]	46
BJP To Contest Seats in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka [THE TIMES OF INDIA 19 Sep]	47
General Discusses Army Plans for Prithvi [THE TIMES OF INDIA 20 Sep]	47
Trade, Cooperation Pack Signed With Tunisia [DECCAN CHRONICLE 21 Sep]	48
CPI-M Leader Discusses Election Policy [THE STATESMAN 21 Sep]	48
Commerce Minister Addresses Editors' Conference [DECCAN CHRONICLE 22 Sep]	48
Kashmiri Woman Held for Spying, Weapons Seized [THE TIMES OF INDIA 23 Sep]	49
West Bengal Opens Doors to Foreign Investment [THE TIMES OF INDIA 24 Sep]	50
Criteria for Congress(I) Candidates Told [THE STATESMAN 26 Sep]	50
Jayaprakash Narayan Views Revisited [AJ 29 Sep]	51
Political Parties in Goa Prepare for Elections [THE TIMES OF INDIA 30 Sep]	53
Details of Ordinance Regulating Cable Television Given [THE TIMES OF INDIA 1 Oct]	53
Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka Polls Crucial to Rao [THE TIMES OF INDIA 1 Oct]	54
Movements for Division of Uttar Pradesh Examined [JANSATTA 3 Oct]	55
Controversy Over Urdu-Language Broadcasts Viewed [BARTAMAN 17 Oct]	56
Effects, Rationale of Bundhs Viewed [DESH 22 Oct]	58

Iran

Customs Officials Arrested For Embezzlement [London KEYHAN 29 Sep]	59
New Bridge Connects Azarbaijan With Nakhichevan [London KEYHAN 29 Sep]	59
Thousands Not Obtained New Birth Certificates [London KEYHAN 29 Sep]	59
New Military Exemption Regulations Detailed [London KEYHAN 29 Sep]	59
Editorial on U.S. Heavy-Handedness in Gulf [London KEYHAN 29 Sep]	60
News of Rafsanjani Publication Spreading [London KEYHAN 6 Oct]	60
On Montazeri as Source of Emulation [London KEYHAN 20 Oct]	61

Pakistan

Nawaz Sharif Intentions Analyzed [MASHRIQ 4 Sep]	61
Manufacture of Anti-Aircraft Missiles Said Complete [JANG 1 Oct]	62

Egyptian Mufti Backs Saudi 'Ulama'

95AE0009A Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 22 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Salih 'Abd-al-Fattah, from Cairo bureau:
"Whoever Tries to Harm the Kingdom Harms Islam"]

[FBIS Translated Text] His Excellency Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sharawi has praised the Kingdom and its policies, and said that it is applying Islamic law and preserving and protecting Islam, and representing a unique way of life in this age, in spite of the age's many prevailing ways of life. These are lifestyles that weaken the relationship between men and their Lord, and are based upon limited human opinions and ideas, which may be either right or wrong.

His Excellency added: "The blessed land of the holy places, which God fortified with Islam, and upon which he bestowed great blessings, has become, thank God, a refuge for preachers, enriching Islam and pious Muslims in every part of the world."

Shaykh al-Sharawi said that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has asserted its true Islamic course and has built its institutions according to Islamic law. It has affirmed its wise direction and wise choice to the world, and Islam is the religion for building civilization. Civilization has not kept the Saudis from building and developing their country, and making it a meeting place for the hearts of everyone who longs to visit this holy land. It was the starting point that Almighty God blessed to make this

blessed country, in the light of His leadership, a special place in the heart of Muslims.

His Excellency Shaykh al-Sharawi asserted that the chief quality of the Saudi commitment to Islam is that it is a moderate commitment in which there is no excess or immoderation; it is a commitment with good intentions in the way it deals with the various issues of life. No one could deny the Kingdom's great efforts to serve Islam and Muslims, and the gift of grace that God had granted them, except those who would deny God's grace and belittle His favors.

His Excellency said that whoever tries to harm or damage the Kingdom wants to harm Islam and the call to moderation that eschews excess, and is trying to destroy this Islamic edifice, which has risen ever higher in spite of malevolent people.

His Excellency emphasized the need to safeguard the Kingdom's achievements and to strike at the hand of anyone who lets himself be seduced into spitting his poison at this peaceful country. He indicated that it is the right of the ruler of this country to take measures to maintain this country's standing and honor, and to make it always and forever a bastion of Islam and a protection for Muslims. His Excellency beseeched God to keep this country safe from the calamities and conflicts that can afflict the people of a country, which can put an end to prosperity and open the door to dissension, with people behaving in defiance of the message God has enjoined upon them.

Regional Affairs

Corruption Seen as Major Economic, Social Issue

Impact on Morocco, Saudi Arabia, UAE Assessed

95LD0006A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
31 Jul 94 pp 34-39

[First of a two-part report on bribery in the Arab world, prepared by Jasir al-Jasir in Saudi Arabia and AL-MAJALLAH offices in the United Arab Emirates and Morocco]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Morocco The Moroccans do not deny that bribery is spreading in their country. They talk about it candidly. The political parties have introduced the issue of combating bribery as one of their priorities. Many people complain about administrative transactions that often require bribery. The expressions "coffee money" and "what goes around" [al-tadwirah] are among the phrases that indicate that a Moroccan is discussing bribery. Bribery sometimes is even considered legitimate. Some say "God blesses a person who does a service for others and benefits in the process."

Bribery exists in Morocco, and the people there are not embarrassed to talk about it as a negative social phenomenon. In his book *Memoirs of a King*, King Hassan II of Morocco says about this phenomenon: "I would not be honest if I said that there are no bribe takers. My friend Edgar Faure liked to say: Had there been no one to buy stolen goods, there would be no thieves. I say: Had there been no bribe giver, there would be no bribe takers. He continues: If there are bribe takers around me, it is the bribe giver who runs after them and not they who seek a bribe. When a big bribery case involving the smuggling of millions of dollars abroad was discovered, four Moroccan ministers found themselves in court. (This was at the beginning of the seventies.) However, it is difficult for me to pursue such a course, because this would preoccupy everyone with talking about investigation and surveillance. What should be done indeed is to reform the functions of officials. Bribery has existed throughout history, and it will continue to exist all over the world.

One day I spoke about the issue with former French President Giscard d'Estaing. I said: Tell me what is going on in your country. What is worrying the people in Morocco is not the person who makes 100 million or one billion. They are not concerned about him. They are concerned about the amount of the bribe they have to pay to secure a birth certificate, find a place in school for their child, or secure a burial certificate. Such documents are issued by junior officials, and bribes in such cases affect the income of low-earning officials.

President Giscard d'Estaing looked at me smiling. Your Majesty, he said, do not waste your time trying to combat this kind of bribery, which is widespread in our country. You must focus your main attention on bribery

that takes place at higher levels. We and our neighbors are suffering from it, and we will suffer from it even more in the future.

King Hassan continued: Nevertheless, small bribes will remain, in my view, the most sensitive issue, and we must end it. If a person earns 1,500 francs a month and has to pay Fr200 or Fr300 as a bribe for every document he needs, how much of his salary will remain at the end of the month? As for major bribery cases, we see these every day and in almost all areas. These are on the rise.

Bribery in Morocco is no longer confined to one institution. It involves all institutions, but is more widespread in government departments. Some people attribute this phenomenon to the indifference and procrastination prevailing in public services. Mustafa Yasin, a merchant, says: One needs at least half a day to have a simple document notarized, but it can be done within 15 minutes if a bribe is paid. This makes most people try to accomplish what they want the quick way so they can go back to their private or family businesses.

Nawal, a clerk, confirms that the bad economic situation, manifested in low wages, a high cost of living, and an absence of minimum legal job security, undoubtedly entices officials to accept a few dirhams to ease their economic and social burden.

How can this phenomenon in Morocco be stopped? What are the effects of bribery on Moroccan life? Bribery and the slow process of issuing licenses and conducting studies are considered, in the view of business people and economists, among the taboo areas that should be exposed, because:

1. They can change the nature of commercial files.
2. They consume about 10 percent of any project's budget. Accountants call this invisible expenses.
3. Bribery is charged against announcements and advertising for which funds are normally included in the budget of a given project.
4. Bribery, in economic projects, is unending. It subsequently takes the form of continuing kickbacks in every annual budget.
5. A bribe paid in the judicial sector to settle commercial conflicts greatly affects the local economy.

In an attempt to deal with these and for other reasons, an international effort has been made to combat bribery in the same way as combating drugs and money laundering. Therefore, the bribery issue was among the topics discussed at the GATT conference in Marrakech. Some speakers at the conference proposed establishing an international body to combat this phenomenon.

Sociologists and educational psychologists consider bribery as a phenomenon that upsets social standards. They wonder how an observer can explain, analyze, and

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anticipate the effects of bribery? Dr. Mujahidah al-Shihabi al-Kitani, professor of educational psychology at the Education College in Rabat, thinks that the problem mainly lies in the weakness of a person's character, whether he is a bribe giver or taker. It has something to do with his moral immunity and strength. A morally strong person will not weaken in the face of the allure of unclean money and gifts offered without any logical justification, but because of his "kindness" in support of a particular goal.

A person who condones bribery lacks self-esteem and moral values, which he is supposed to have gained during his primary social education. Any justification of the causes of bribery, Mujahidah al-Shihabi adds, is logically unacceptable. Immediate financial gain, which may solve or ease a financial problem, will leave worse negative effects on the bribe taker than he can imagine. A bribe, whether given or taken, is not an isolated action of a certain person. It directly affects primary social institutions, such as the family. The person involved in bribery is a father, son, mother, or sister. That person has a position in secondary social institutions. He is most probably involved in his society by virtue of his post or job. He, therefore, has an influence on many citizens, particularly if he holds a leading position within a system of mutual relations and interests.

Bribery in the short or long term destroys the structure of sound relations in society because its purpose is to justify what is wrong and destroy what is right. According to educational psychologists, the education of people begins at an early stage by molding in them what is called behavioral conscience, which every individual in society needs. Moral and behavioral deviations, such as bribery, might lead to other more complicated manifestations, such as forgery and so forth.

Both the bribe giver and bribe taker are good in finding ways to conceal their actions and not to expose themselves. For example, in order not to be exposed, they do not use bank checks and do not transfer bribe money through the banking institutions. A bribe is often paid in cash or in material forms, such as cars or an apartment, especially if the job is important and requires serious effort.

Sometimes, the payment of bribes turns into an organized profession when some intermediaries take over the task of paying the bribe for the bribe giver, to remove any suspicion. Small bribes are often "buried" inside the transaction papers or placed in an envelope. So, asking a Moroccan if he has received an envelope, is a euphemism for receiving a bribe?

The bribery issue has recently figured in the election campaign in Morocco and led to arguments between the opposition and majority parties. In many electoral constituencies in Morocco people were offered gifts, such as clothes, money envelopes, and sometimes even apartments. Apartments were offered in particular to educated people who can exert an influence on the simple voters. Consequently, the opposition parties have emphasized that the elections were

unfair. The slogan of combating illegal money was among other slogans that were strongly in evidence even during the partial elections that took place on 26 April 1994. An opposition paper once wrote a headline across eight columns on its front page, saying: Take their money, but do not give them your votes.

Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, as part of a comprehensive and organized plan to combat bribery, the Interior Ministry has installed a free telephone service (800-124-4000) in the Administrative Investigation Department for people to report crimes of bribery. The ministry announced that its departments and all the citizens and residents must cooperate to combat bribery. It urged the people to call this free number to give any information they have about people engaging in bribery.

Saudi Arabia began combating bribery when this phenomenon first appeared. The first rules against bribery were issued in 1350 Hijra [1931]. Nothing specific was stated then. The matter was left to the courts, because the penalty for bribery in Islam was disciplinary action—that is, the judge hands down an appropriate punishment to deter the person involved in bribery. Royal decree No. MK/10, issued on 7/3/1382 Hijra [1962], outlined the rules for combating bribery. The decree identified bribery as "an employee taking, accepting, or requesting a financial or material benefit in order to carry out or not to carry out a job within his jurisdiction or to violate in any way the duties of his position."

Bribery covers many areas of life. However, it is not widespread in Saudi Arabia, because services are available and employees are aware of their official status and want to safeguard their administrative and social image. This, however, does not mean bribery does not exist at all. It exists, but it is difficult to discover, because it takes place in complete secrecy. Furthermore, the close-knit-family system in Saudi Arabia and the easy loans the state provides to the people to build houses, to get married, or for any other purpose make it difficult to uncover a sudden windfall for an employee with limited income.

A person who needs a service in Saudi Arabia can benefit from the illegal actions of an official without incurring great expense. He might invite him to a big dinner as expressed in the proverb: "Feed the mouth to spare the eyes." Or he might ask a friend or relative of the official to intercede. The official breaks the law to satisfy the wishes of his friend without realizing the enormity of the crime he is committing.

Most of the bribes in the governmental or private sectors come through gifts that take the form of paid vacations abroad, organized courses involving rewards, or price reductions on such goods as cars if the bribe giver happens to be a car dealer, or expensive gifts brought from abroad for the official. It can be said that the official in Saudi Arabia accepts a bribe because he is embarrassed, he wants to return a favor, or he wants to show his love.

The customs department is one place where an official could be bribed. He might allow the entry of banned goods for something in return. Customs officials are good candidates for bribes because of low wages, fewer bonuses, and the many enticements involved. The motive might also be the desire to associate with the social elite, thus giving the simple employee the feeling of social prominence and influence. Because of pressure on the telephone service and the difficulty of obtaining a telephone line, some bribery stories in the telephone department might occasionally surface, especially if an employee provides a certain telephone service that normally takes more than a year to obtain.

Based on the number of cases uncovered and the decision of the Interior Ministry to introduce a special 800-number for people to report such crimes, it is possible to conclude that the bribery rate has begun to increase. The Interior Ministry publishes in the local press the photographs of the bribe takers, bribe givers, and mediators and the penalties they received. However, no details or information about the bribery cases or the value and type of bribes is provided.

Statistics issued by the Interior Ministry in 1412 Hijra [1991] show that there were 99 bribery crimes that year, committed by 230 people, including 97 Saudis. Most of these cases—27 incidents—took place in Riyadh and the eastern province. Forty-one Saudis were involved in bribery cases in the Mecca area. This figure marked a drop compared to 1409 Hijra [1988] in which 178 cases were recorded.

This does not suggest a decrease in bribery. It is possible that the techniques used in bribery have become more sophisticated, providing for more secrecy. Although the method of publishing the names of those involved in bribery is an effective deterrent, punishment is still light compared to the huge bribes paid to secure big contracts or information about tenders submitted by others.

Under the law, the punishment for bribery is imprisonment for one to five years and a fine of 5,000 to 100,000 riyals [R], or one of the two penalties. The law also provides for the confiscation of the money, privilege, or benefit involved in the crime. Bribery can be proved in three ways: testimony, confession, and absolute evidence. Article 14 of the regulations for combating bribery calls for acquitting the bribe giver or the mediator if they inform the authorities about the crime before it is discovered. A person who informs the authorities about a bribery crime, without himself being involved, receives a reward when the information leads to the conviction of the criminal. The reward is no less than R5,000 and no more than half of the value of the confiscated bribe. An employee who resists the allure of a bribe receives a financial reward and a promotion to a higher grade, provided he is qualified to undertake the responsibilities of the grade and has repeatedly rejected a bribe. A control and investigation committee undertakes the task of investigating crimes of bribery.

To end bribery, it would be necessary to clean the ground in which it flourishes, develop a sense of responsibility among employees, and improve financial rewards. Just as the names and photographs of persons involved in bribery are publicized, the honoring of employees who uncover a bribery case or turn down a bribe should also be publicized to develop a spirit of competition among them and increase their immunity and awareness. Furthermore, administrative controls should be enhanced without hurting the employees' dignity and freedom. One of the useful deterrents in Saudi Arabia is to arrest a bribed employee during work, handcuff him, and take him around the entire department for his colleagues to see.

An amusing bribery story people talk about, whether true or not, goes like this: To bribe health and municipal inspectors, restaurant owners invite them to a special plate of fava beans to confirm that the food is clean. Therefore, inspectors make their tours early in the morning before restaurants run out of fava beans. [Fava beans is a national dish in the Middle East, normally eaten for breakfast.]

United Arab Emirates

In the United Arab Emirates [UAE], bribery is considered a rare crime for economic, social, and religious reasons. From the economic standpoint, public officials enjoy a reasonable standard of living, so bribery is not a real temptation to them. Public officials often have the chance to do other jobs and improve their financial situation by legitimate means. The law does not prevent a government employee from working in the private sector, provided this does not conflict with his government position. The leading positions in the government administration are held by UAE citizens, who maintain a sort of control over employees from other countries attempting to use their public position to serve their other interests. Furthermore, very intense competition prevents public sector employees from the Arab countries from taking or asking for bribes. Competition makes them supervise each other, deterring them from taking bribes for fear of being exposed by their colleagues.

The bribery issue is covered under the penal code on crimes related to public office. According to the provisions of the law, any public official who asks or accepts for himself or for others a gift or a privilege of any kind, or a promise of this sort, in exchange for doing or not doing something considered a violation of his duties, will be punished with no more than 10 years imprisonment. According to UAE law, offering a bribe or mediation in a bribe case is also considered a crime, punishable by imprisonment and a fine equal to the bribe amount asked for or received by the bribe taker, provided it is not less than 1,000 dirhams. This is in addition to the confiscation of the bribe money.

According to the law, there is a possibility of repenting from a bribery crime. The law stipulates that no legal proceedings will be instituted against a bribe giver or

mediator who informs the judicial or administrative authorities about the crime or confesses before the case goes to court. A confession made after the case goes to court will be regarded as a mitigating reason.

Whereas the UAE law has clearly dealt with the bribery issue, considering it a punishable crime, ambiguity still exists regarding what is known socially as a brokerage fee. Counselor Ibrahim al-Tamimi says that a brokerage fee is not regarded as a bribe when it is the result of mediation between two parties for a specific percentage of the deal. The mediator, however, must not use his public position to reconcile the two parties. Furthermore, his success in the mediation effort should not come because he used his public position to provide information or reveal some secrets.

Judicial sources say that the absence of a clear line between bribery and brokerage fee often leads some people to commit crimes punishable by law. Some public employees, in return for some financial gain, might reveal some information about certain tenders to enable a bidder to win. Despite the seriousness of such practices, bribery remains a graver crime, because it undermines the interests of the people and destroys public administration. Sources from the legal profession say that direct bribery cases in the UAE are rare. They are often nipped in the bud.

The most frequent bribery case is the attempt of some people to bribe traffic officers to ensure that they pass the driving test, which is the wish of most UAE residents. Lawyers say that the crime of bribing traffic officers is often committed by residents who had no experience with government offices in the UAE. They think that they operate like government offices in their own countries. Lawyers also say that although the law regards gifts to public officials as a bribe, this practice is common. Sources say that gifts are often presented in good faith and considered a marketing method. These gifts are not related to any specific service a public official must perform, nor are they presented to them to keep silent about a certain violation.

[Box, p 36]

Bribery in Islam

The sources that discuss bribery in Islam are few and isolated. But what must be emphasized here is that bribery did not surface in the first stages of Islamic society. It began to develop with the spread of luxury, the intermingling of races, and the increased number of sultans and rulers. Bribery began to take a clear form in the Abbasid era, and then spread by the end of this era to include the Fatimids, the Ayyubids, the Mamlukes, and others. The earliest case of bribery in the Abbasid era involved the mediation of al-Rabi' with al-Khalifah al-Mansur to have Ya'qub Bin-Dawud appointed to the post of minister in return for a bribe of 100,000 dinars [D]. Among the rulers whom sources say received bribes was Musa Bin-Mas'ab, who was used by al-Khalifah al-Mahdi in Egypt.

Bribery reached its climax in the Mamluke era and carried a new Arabic name "bartalah." Some historians identified "bartalah" as money taken from governors, officials, judges, and others. Bribery spread to all positions, even judges, preachers, and imams. Historian Ibn-Taghri Baradi says people who paid money, even if they were scoundrels, were promoted in the state, because the kings were greedy.

Prince Faraj al-Halabi paid 400,000 dirhams to the Alexandria ruler to secure a position that he could use also to collect bribes. Taj-al-Din 'Abd-al-Razzaq paid D600,000 to get a ministry in Egypt. These were the highest paid bribes. In the judiciary, the payment for some positions reached as high as D200,000 and as low as D10,000 for a junior position. The bribe paid for an imam's position did not exceed D1,200, because there was no or little financial benefit in it. The bribe for securing a position occasionally dropped. Jalal-al-Din Abi-al-Sa'adat got the position of Mecca governor for D500 only. Some people in the judiciary occasionally paid money to get the position of judge, because of its prestige and value. Nevertheless, good faith does not justify bribery.

[Box, pp 38-39]

Meaning of Bribery

The first man was primitive, vicious, and self-centered. But as society developed and man entered civilization through its various stages, he changed from being scared and worried into a social and civilized person. He knew himself only through his society and could only achieve what he wanted within the concepts and values of this society. He, nevertheless, remained potentially a self-centered person. His selfishness was suppressed under the debris of cultural experiences, because it was contrary to social values. Selfishness, takes two forms: private and public. The private form shows in the individual's behavior and actions toward his immediate society. It often results in rejection and isolation. The public form of selfishness affects society and causes damage to the public interest. This is where its danger lies. One of its well-known manifestations is bribery. Civilized societies have been trying to combat bribery since ancient times, not only because it involved placing an individual's personal interest above the interest of society, but also because it destroys the fabric of society. If it is allowed to spread, it can cause society to revert to selfishness and destroy all its cultural achievements.

According to Islamic religious interpretation, bribery is giving something to falsify what is right or to right what is wrong. It might be done to accomplish something, secure a position, or repel fear. The Islamic nation unanimously agreed to prohibit bribery, because it realized its dangers. It did this also to comply with Islamic principles and the Prophet's saying that "the bribe giver and the bribe taker are cursed by God."

Bribery is among the oldest manifestations of administrative corruption and the most enduring, because it is

secretive and assumes different forms. It might assume an innocent form on the surface, such as giving a brokerage fee or a gift. It might assume the form of a direct payment. Bribery is widespread and is committed repeatedly, because it touches a person's weak points, arousing in him the instinct of greed that will only end with his death.

Bribery is characterized by the fact that it does not clash with the administrative system and the prevailing laws in ways similar to theft, armed robbery, and so forth. It is like a virus that spreads into the administration's body through its legitimate paths to destroy its objectives and rules. If it is allowed to spread, bribery usually produces selfishness in its worst forms. If an official misuses the regulations to achieve personal gain, he can destroy the trust put in him, undermine the country's interests and rights, and make the regime lose its legitimacy. Furthermore, the unethical exploitation of an official's position, the spread of interest groups, and the prevalence of selfishness can result in lower productivity and the emergence of groups that unjustly exploit and dominate people through the system and with its sanction.

As a virus, bribery does not spread in society just because of the existence of a group of corrupt people. It spreads when the ground is fertile for it. There are reasons for the spread of bribery. They include high prices, inflation, drop in employees' income, complex procedures, delay in accomplishing transactions, government control of most activities, absence or weakness of administrative supervision, and long-term service in sensitive posts, which breeds familiarity between officials and people seeking favors. All this provides a fertile ground for bribery.

Consequences in Egypt, Kuwait Considered

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7 Aug 94 pp 34-37

[Second and final part of a report on bribery in the Arab world, prepared by AL-MAJALLAH office in Cairo and Jasim al-Shamri in Kuwait]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Egypt

An Egyptian university professor says that the amount of bribery and corruption money in Egypt represents 25 percent of the national income. He made this statement at a time when more and more announcements were being made about the arrest and conviction of senior officials and ministry under secretaries on charges of receiving bribes to facilitate the business of others.

What brought the issue to the forefront recently was the case of the millionaire of Madinat an Nasr. He was accused of using his influence to build 14 apartment towers and not paying 25 million pounds in taxes. By bribing some engineers in the neighborhood and the electricity authority's management, he managed to extend utilities to the illegal buildings. The police arrested two of his associates

and three engineers in Madinat an Nasr and referred them to the prosecutor. The engineer resorted to a strange and clever trick. He sent apartment rent contracts in fictitious names to the electricity authority, indicating that they were signed before 1 June 1992 and that people were occupying the apartments. This is despite the fact that they were empty, and were not for rent, but for sale. The east Cairo prosecutor's office charged an electricity authority engineer with bribery.

There is also the case of a senior official who occupied the post of ministry under secretary. His case No. 1232 involves illegal gain. This person came from a simple, poor family. He rose to the post of ministry under secretary. Within a brief time he amassed great wealth, which included villas, apartments, land, luxury cars, jewelry, and bank deposits estimated at three million pounds. When he was arrested, police discovered one kilogram of gold and more than 100,000 pounds under his bed. This senior official used various tricks to avoid paying taxes. He also used his position to amass illegal wealth by working as a taxation accountant for certain contractors.

According to another story, the Central Accounting Bureau discovered that the board members and chairman of a public sector company had bought spoiled wheat. In return for this deal, they received a bribe of 2 million pounds, which they shared among themselves. The board members met often to discuss the bribe amount and review the results of the contacts and negotiations. The company board of directors decided to award the contract for the importation of the wheat to a certain company at a price of 732 pounds per ton. This is despite the fact that other tenders were much lower. One was 42 pounds per ton less. When the wheat arrived, it was spoiled and infested with pests.

Another senior official who occupied the post of under secretary in the Civil Aviation Authority has also been charged with illegal gain in case No. 1337. He had nothing at the beginning of his professional life. He was too ambitious. When he assumed the post of under secretary, he smiled, knowing that the future would smile on him. He used his post to facilitate travel abroad of certain people with diplomatic passports. He received money for this service. His wealth grew. The authorities discovered that he owned several properties, apartments, and villas in Alexandria and on the northern coast. He also had more than 3 million pounds in the bank.

Economist Dr. Muhsin al-Khudayri identifies bribery as the crime of exploiting one's position that upsets performance in all the tools of the national economy. It also subjugates institutions to groups of ignorant and corrupt officials who have no other concern but to accumulate illegal money. He adds: This is made possible by the power of official organizations, the strength of pressure groups and interest parties, which lead to deviation in administrative decisionmaking. Bribery becomes a cancer that causes profitable enterprises to lose money. The proof is that public sector companies, which have

many resources and qualified people at their disposal, have always registered losses.

Al-Khudayri adds: Bribery disposes of qualifications and expertise and raises the status of thieves, relying on an organized network of relations or economic interests. He maintains that this network, in time, becomes a party whose members are enemies of success. They pursue every honest and conscientious man to corrupt him or force him to leave the country temporarily or permanently.

Dr. Hamdi 'Abd-al-'Azim, professor of economy at the al-Sadat Academy, says that the appearance of bribery cases recently is the result of increased administrative complications and bureaucracy, the rise in prices, and the drop in purchasing power. This has led government employees to resort to alternate methods to compensate for the drop in their real income. And bribery is the easiest of them. Employees possess the authority to do or not to do a job. There are no administrative controls to prevent someone from illegally securing a license or having a document notarized. Bribery has become a means for public officials to make money. It is used in property transactions, export and import, and the construction of multistory buildings without permits. Officials make money from illegal deals. Some of these cases have been uncovered and referred to the judicial authorities, not as a result of a special effort by the authorities, but on the basis of reports made to the authorities following personal disputes after the crime was committed.

Dr. 'Abd-al-'Azim adds: The income of Egyptian public officials from bribes is estimated at 25 percent of the national income or 1.5 billion pounds. This figure will increase unless concrete action is taken to solve the problem. This figure represents less than 10 percent of what bribe givers receive in return. What they receive is estimated to be worth 15 billion pounds. There is no doubt that this has distorted the Egyptian economy and increased the dependence on illegitimate revenue, without real work or production. This situation results in higher prices and a drop in the pound value.

To end bribery, Dr. 'Abd-al-'Azim calls for closing the gaps that allow a public official to control decisions without justification, granting approvals to whom he wishes. A multilevel control system should exist. Bribery can be eliminated if the government improves the salaries of public servants and compensates them for the drop in their real earnings and the increase in inflation and prices. The existing control systems used by the Central Accounting Bureau, the Organization and Administration Bureau, and the Administrative Control Bureau should also be improved and made more effective. Deviations should be reported immediately. Periodic inspections of documents and procedures should be made to ensure everything is legal and valid. Any violations should be immediately reported to the Administrative Prosecutor's office without resorting to internal administrative measures.

Dr. Bakr [not further identified] thinks that the crime of bribery can be dealt with by developing a sound administrative system. The procedures for submitting tenders

must be improved to prevent bribery. This crime can be eliminated by upgrading the internal and external control systems and appointing qualified and honest directors. Also, quick steps must be taken to establish a free economy. In a free economy, a capitalist tries to safeguard his capital. Salaries must also be raised to match the rise in prices. It is not logical to have a planning engineer with a very low salary dealing with documents worth millions.

Three engineers from al-Matariyah and Madinat an Nasr were imprisoned for receiving bribes for overlooking some violations. A citizen submitted a complaint to the Administrative Control Bureau against an engineer in Madinat an Nasr, accusing him of requesting a bribe of 3,000 pounds in order to cancel a case involving 20,000 pounds. The conversations between the engineer and this man were recorded and video taped, and the engineer was then arrested. In al-Matariyah, the Administrative Control Bureau received a report that a building owner had added additional floors, contrary to his building permit. Investigation showed that the building owner had agreed with engineers in al-Matariyah not to report the violation to the authorities. The building owner admitted that he and the engineers agreed to overlook the violation in return for 3,000 pounds in bribe. The engineers were arrested.

Dr. Muhsin al-Khudayri says such crimes lead to the collapse of many states and institutions. He says that one of the main reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is corruption, particularly bribery. No country afflicted by this disease can survive.

Dr. Bakri 'Atiyah, dean of the al-Azhar University's college of commerce, says that bribery gravely damages the economy, because some people receive money illegally and without exerting an effort. This causes a terrible discrepancy in incomes and undermines the economic system, because the principles of economic and production efficiency no longer exist. These are replaced by behavioral changes and a change in the distribution of economic resources.

The authorities have recently arrested members of a gang that included the general manager of the al-Nasr plant for the production of buses and lorries. The manager was accused of receiving a bribe in order to overlook the bad quality of products sold to the plant. The authorities arrested the gang members red-handed as they were receiving 40,000 pounds from the owner of a company producing and marketing fiberglass. Ihab Jamal, head of the Hulwan prosecutor's office ordered that they be placed in custody for 15 days to continue the investigation.

Brigadier General Jamal al-Jawhari, head of the department for combating bribery and exploitation of influence in the Public Property Investigations Bureau, says that the Interior Ministry does not hesitate to bring deviating, corrupt, and bribe taking officials to account. There are clear instructions not to keep silent about any deviator, irrespective of his position and influence.

The main evidence in bribe and illegal gain crimes is the list of assets, which is backed by official documents and the person's own signature. The Public Property Investigations Bureau takes an interest in all deviators, irrespective of how major or minor the crime may be. During the past year, it managed to arrest more than 100 senior officials from various departments on charges of bribery and exploitation of influence. These officials illegally amassed wealth by misusing their positions and influence. All these bribe takers began work as ordinary salaried employees. However, they later managed to accumulate huge wealth from bribery.

Articles 103 to 111 of the Egyptian penal code provide penalties for bribe takers. The penalties are severe. Article 103 says: A public official who asks for himself or for others and who accepts, receives, or is promised a gift to carry out a job, which he thinks is part of his duties, will be punished with life imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of not less than 1,000 pounds and not more than the amount given or promised to him.

Article 103, repeated, says: A public official is considered to have been bribed and will receive the same punishment provided under the previous article if he asks for himself or others, or if he accepts or receives a promise or a gift, for performing a job he wrongly thinks or claims is part of his duties or for refraining from performing it.

Article 104 says: A public official who requests for himself or for others or who accepts or receives a promise or gift for refraining from doing or for violating one of his prescribed duties, or who accepts or receives a reward for doing such a job, will be punished with life imprisonment at hard labor and double the fine set under article 103 of this law.

Article 104, repeated, says: A public official who asks for himself or for others, or who accepts or receives a promise or a gift for performing one of his prescribed duties or who wrongly believes or claims that it is one of his duties, or who refrains from performing it or violates the duties of his post, will receive the penalty for bribery stipulated in the previous three articles, according to circumstances, even if the intention was not to carry out that action or not to refrain from doing it or not to violate his duties.

Article 105 says: A public official who does a job within his jurisdiction for a person, or who refrains from doing such a job, or who violates his duties and without prior agreement receives a gift from that person after the job was done, or after he refrained from doing it, or after he violated his duties in the hope of receiving a reward, will be punished with imprisonment and a fine of not less than 100 pounds and not more than 500 pounds.

Article 105, repeated, says: A public official who carries out one of his prescribed duties, or who refrains from carrying it out, or who violates his duties because of a

request or mediation, will be punished with imprisonment and a fine of not less than 200 pounds and not more than 500 pounds.

Kuwait

In Kuwait, bribery has so far not been a big issue in the local media. Therefore, there is no public opinion to watch or measure. Based on what some Kuwaiti lawyers have said, it is possible to see the danger of ignoring this issue and not turning the spotlights on it. It is necessary to highlight this problem, not in order to expose the defects in Kuwaiti society, but because it is the first step to deal with it. The existence of this problem should have been recognized before.

Lawyer Muhammad al-Jasim, deputy chief editor of the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, says in this regard: Bribery is considered a pest that infects the moral fiber of society. Undoubtedly, there are many factors that contribute to the spread of bribery. Al-Jasim continues: The spread of bribery shows society's decadence. The Kuwaiti society did not suffer from bribery in the past. However, it is no longer possible to ignore a harsh and bitter reality—that bribery has become a way of life, existing under many names, for different reasons, and in many services. Al-Jasim attributes the spread of bribery to a possible failure of the administrative system and moral weakness. He adds: We must not, in any way, overlook the fact that the Kuwaiti law is very severe on bribery crimes. However, reality proves that combating this crime is not done in a serious and professional manner.

Al-Jasim says he knows many cases in which complaints about bribery have reached senior officials, such as ministers and others. None of them did anything about these complaints. Instead, the burden of combating bribery was placed on the citizen, who is asked to become an informer. This is unacceptable. The citizen, consequently, refrains from participating in the antibribery effort, and a general sense of indifference is created.

Speaking out of personal experience, al-Jasim says: I have tried to monitor the issue of bribery in one of the public services. The result was stunning. I discovered that there is an organized market managed by brokerage fee agents. It is regrettable that I found insufficient interest by the officials responsible for this service. I was really frustrated. It seems that our officials are deeply involved in political debate, not concerned about the problems of the simple citizen. Al-Jasim concludes: I must say that this crime is alien to the Kuwaiti society. It is the product of an unhealthy social situation. The official disregard of the problem, based on fear of dealing with the real issues, has contributed to the spread of bribery.

Lawyer Najib al-Waqyan, on his part, notes that bribery exists in Kuwait, and that it increased after the Iraqi invasion, like many other crimes that were unknown in Kuwait, such as armed robbery. Al-Waqyan said that bribery can be divided into two parts—offering and demanding a bribe. There has been an increase in the

offering of bribes after the invasion, he says. He says he has memorized the provisions of the law on bribery because of the many cases he has handled. He adds that the exploitation of a person's influential position or alleged position falls within the framework of this crime. Al-Waqyan attributed the spread of such crimes to the fact that some officials accused of mishandling public funds have not been brought to justice. He adds that the lack of enforcement of government decisions sometimes also contribute to the spread of such crimes, because some morally weak people think they can violate laws and get away with it.

Al-Waqyan says that most of the bribery cases he knows were the result of residency violations and delays. Offenders prefer to pay a small sum of money to someone to settle the case instead of paying the heavy fine involved. He noted that this has been a flourishing trade by some people who claim to be influential. Al-Waqyan adds that the other aspect of the bribe is the honorarium, which cannot be contained, particularly since most of those who receive honoraria are senior officials. To be honest, I have handled only one case of this kind, involving the payment of an honorarium for someone to approve a tender. He says that the number of cases he handled in which Kuwaitis ask for a bribe is large. However, the number of cases in which non-Kuwaitis offer a bribe is larger. He noted that most of the defendants are junior officials in the government.

Al-Waqyan says that penalties for bribery under Kuwaiti law can reach 10 years imprisonment. The smallest bribe he knew about was D50 and the largest D130,000. He says that one of the bribery cases he handled involved the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor to ease the procedures for residency permits. Another case involved an official in the Electricity and Water Ministry who was asked by a person to endorse a contract for a job he carried out for a citizen at his farm in al-Wafrah. A third case involved a woman employee in the Health Ministry's radiology department. She was asked to push through the papers of a sick woman.

One of the funny stories in this regard was the attempt of a certain individual to bribe an official in the Interior Ministry so he could pass the driving test. When this person completed the test, and the policeman began recording the results, he took out D100 and placed them in the policeman's pocket, saying this is a gift for the children. The court sentenced the man to pay a fine of D500 and confiscated the D100.

According to statistics, the public prosecutor handled 14 criminal cases in 1989 and five cases in 1991. Neither the Interior Ministry nor the Justice Ministry has provided fresh statistics on this issue.

In a positive initiative to end the possible negative effects of bribery, Deputy Dr. Nasir al-Sani' submitted a bill to the Kuwaiti National Assembly under the heading: How Did You Amass All This Wealth? The bill is designed to make officials and leaders account for their financial assets.

[Box, p 37]

Official Views Bribery in Kuwait

The Public Prosecutor Badr al-Huti says that, because of the importance of public office, the legislature has tried to ensure the integrity and honesty of public officials. Bribery, he adds, is a crime in which a public official violates his duties. It is a sort of illegal trading in the functions of an office or service or the exploitation of a public official's position to make illegal gains. The crime is committed if an official receives, accepts, or asks for a benefit or anything in return for himself or for others, or if he carries out a task within his jurisdiction or claims or wrongly thinks that it is within his jurisdiction, or if he refrains from carrying out such a task or violates one of the duties of his office. No one denies the existence of bribery in Kuwait. However, it is limited, compared to other crimes. The percentage of Kuwaitis, compared to non-Kuwaitis, involved in such crimes is very small.

Al-Huti notes that the Kuwaiti legislature imposed stiff penalties for the crime of bribery, reaching 10 years imprisonment and a fine twice the amount of the bribe. The pertinent authorities, led by the public prosecutor, exert intensive efforts to bring such criminals to justice so they receive the maximum penalty in order to end such crimes.

Al-Huti says that crimes, in general, and bribery, in particular, have many causes. The most important of these are the deviation of certain people, the lack of religious deterrent, unemployment, bad family upbringing, the increase in population, the multiplicity of nationalities in Kuwait, and the desire to make illegal gain.

There were 15 bribery cases in Kuwait in 1989, 10 in 1990, three in 1991, 12 in 1992, and 18 in 1993.

Palestinian Affairs

Jordanian Water Claims Cause Concern

95AA0011A Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic
18 Sep 94 p 14

[Article by Engineer 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-A'raj: "Palestinian Water Rights"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Palestinians, being distant from what is happening in the negotiations, are wondering whether the Jordanians will hold to their demands and terms for Palestinian rights to Jordan basin water resources. They wonder whether the Jordanians are still holding to their former position on such rights as announced by several responsible sources to responsible Palestinian circles. These sources affirmed that the Jordanian side would hold to the principles of the Johnson Plan, which allocates the Palestinians a share consisting of 150 million cubic meters of surface water resources from the river's main channel.

Palestinian anxiety about Palestinian water rights and the rights of the other Arab parties sharing the basin

arises from real fears about Israeli intentions and Israeli-announced positions. These positions were reaffirmed at the start of the Jordanian-Israeli negotiations by Elyaqim Rubinstein, the head of the Israeli delegation. He stated that the main dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict over water does not lie in each party's current amount of use of Jordan River water resources, but in the shortage of such resources.

Explaining his view, Rubinstein said that any Israeli-Jordanian agreement about water must be based on serious cooperation to search for additional water resources to strengthen current resources and make up the shortfall.

This is the same Israeli military position that has been repeatedly announced in all bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

The Israelis emphasize this concept as the only solution to the water problem. It is based on two main ideas. Winter runoff from the Yarmuk River would be exploited by diverting it to Lake Tiberias in the short term until the Unity Dam is completed. Israel would then be an official partner in the water stored by it and thus would guarantee realization of its effort to obtain an additional new share of Yarmuk River water.

Israel Tries To Create Arab-Arab Disagreements

Israel is also trying in its bilateral negotiations to create Arab-Arab disagreements. Israel is exercising this strategy in order to frustrate Arab rights. Israel's continual suggestion that Palestinian water rights are included in the Jordanian share of Jordan River water is an erroneous suggestion; for Israeli-Jordanian negotiations can never negate the water rights of the Palestinians as a party sharing this water basin. These rights must be confirmed by a tripartite Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli meeting to define sound and correct principles for resolving the water problem. It is one of the most difficult problems the peace process faces, because water means land. The negotiating process over water must be coordinated and discussed through Palestinian-Jordanian meetings, particularly since these negotiations express one interest, the higher Arab interest. The latter must be the main goal of any future negotiations with Israel.

Palestinian-Jordanian coordination must stress that the fundamental disagreement is the disagreement with Israel and that a serious, united Arab position can realize gains that a Palestinian or Jordanian position cannot realize separately.

National Movement, Democracy in Crisis

95AA0011B Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 22 Sep 94 p 12

[Article by PNC Member Bilal al-Shakhshir: "The Crisis of the Palestinian National Movement and the Democratic National Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Palestinian people are experiencing a political mood that swings between expectancy and optimism about the future and pessimism and questioning about it. This comes in the wake of broad political changes affecting the Palestinian cause, particularly the signing of the Oslo-Cairo agreements and the ensuing practical steps. First there was the appointment of a Palestinian authority, which began to form various security organs. There is the role these organs play in their relations with national institutions and the people's democratic civil freedoms. There is the stand these organs take toward the political opposition. Finally, one must carefully observe the practices and agencies of the occupation, which have undergone no essential changes yet.

Worsening Political Crisis

The national movement's crisis became evident politically on the eve of participation by one of the main parties in the Madrid conference on 30 October 1992. The crisis worsened with the signing of the Oslo agreement on 13 September 1993 and flared up with the Cairo agreement on 4 May 1994. It deepened and produced effects after the agreements began to be implemented on the ground—Gaza-Jericho first, then the formation of the self-rule authority and the arrival of Yasir 'Arafat and thousands of PLO police and administrative personnel. The powers of one of the most important Palestinian institutions, the Executive Committee, were rescinded and transferred in practice (without a publicly announced decision) to the self-rule authority. The work of the Central Council as a mediating link between the National Council as a legislative body and the Executive Committee was paralyzed. Also, a dispute continues to rage over the legitimacy and role of the National Council. One tendency is represented by a number of members of the self-rule authority. They want the Council to convene and complete the membership from inside [Palestine] in order to carry out the pledges that the agreement's authors gave the Israeli side concerning repealing the articles of the Palestinian National Charter dealing with the state of Israel.

The other point of view, which has taken shape from the majority, rejects convening the Council in the self-rule areas on Israeli terms. It stipulates that the meeting of the Council depends on full Israeli withdrawal from all the areas occupied in 1967.

Organizational Crisis

The political disagreement among national movement groups that led to the collapse of PLO institutions not only led to the destruction of all the organizations of the Palestinian national alliance that were based on the national program, but also had an effect on the situation in the occupied homeland. It led to the disbanding of the Unified National Command and the withdrawal from it of essential groups. Many militant bodies and organizations existing in the occupied homeland were dissolved. This confronted the national movement in all its groups

with a political and organizational crisis. Its features began to become clear in the alliances the situation generated among forces of the political opposition despite their differing tactical visions of the future. They also became clear in the alliances of power-thirsty social classes and some forces that, while supporting Oslo, have reservations about Cairo and condemn the implementations of the agreement.

Crisis of Democracy

The Palestinian movement's crisis of democratic activity has existed since national activity started, but especially since 1967. The reason for this is the nature of the forms of struggle, which for a long time were limited to armed activity. Even after the PLO began to form its institutions and popular units, it did not succeed in entrenching democratic practice. The reason can be traced to the widely dispersed distribution of the Palestinian body politic and to a mentality of groups and factions. For a long time this mentality affected democratic activity in the circles of the Palestinian movement inside the occupied homeland. In the thinking of the Palestinian leaders these circles were considered an extension of the Palestinian movement abroad.

However, because of the occupied homeland's special characteristics and because by all measures and standards, it constitutes the natural community of the Palestinian people and controls their immediate conflict with the occupation and their defense of their being and of their national, political, economic, and cultural interests. In addition, it was able to form civil society institutions that were necessarily more advanced than the overseas formulas for institutional work. Taking advantage of the overseas national movement's progress in knowledge, this led to an expansion of the size of national institutions and of popular and trade-union cadres. This deepened political and ideological consciousness and endowed the internal national movement and the people with democratic experience. This climaxed visibly in recent years during the student elections in the universities and in elections in institutes and professional unions. It could be seen in the agreement of trade-union blocs to reassemble the General Confederation of Labor Unions and the agreement to hold elections next February on the basis of proportional representation. It could be seen in the popular expressions of opinion about the Oslo agreement by the opposition or by supporters. These expressions took all forms—demonstrations, conferences, or even joint conferences by political forces. At the same time and following the same policy, all the political and social forces inside the homeland adhered to a position calling for rejecting and combatting internal fighting against the background of the political situation.

Marriage of Experiences

With the entry of a large number of Palestinian army forces and PLO administrative cadres, as well as limited

numbers of proteges of the opposition, and by virtue of the leadership role of the returnees from the diaspora, the latter took over the critical leadership positions: security, with its five agencies, the liaison committees, the police agencies, etc. However, the different experience of many, if not all the returnees—the overseas experience was characterized by bureaucracy and promulgating directives to positions and activists by fax or telephone from Arab or Western countries—leads us to two different experiences. One of them developed naturally, but those who had this experience participated only to a limited extent in decisionmaking power. The other experience was bureaucratic and enjoyed power, decisionmaking, wealth, and police. The attempt by the bureaucracy to form a marriage with democracy will inevitably produce a distorted experience not destined to survive. The only option open to the people and their political forces is to adopt the institutions of civil society on the basis of respecting the democratic experience and its development in institutions, trade unions, political forces, etc. This is the way in which progress can be made.

The claim by many Palestinian political forces inside or outside the homeland to democracy or democratization is nothing but a game for consumption. In fact, the political experience and internal relations of the national movement confirm that the movement bears the main responsibility for the decline of the spirit and practice of democratic thought. This now puts the movement in a difficult position by shaking its image and credibility before its base and the groups of the Palestinian people. Democracy is not a claim; it is living, concrete experience that is in contact with citizens' lives and their role in building their community uncurbed and unfettered, enjoying freedom to participate in decisionmaking and in forming the present and future.

National Goals Realized by Democracy

The Palestinian people have given what is dear and precious and will not hesitate to defend the homeland, freedom, their rights, and their heritage. After more than three quarters of a century and all their acquired skills, experience, and knowledge, they have again been able to frustrate hundreds of attempts aimed at liquidating the national cause. They have been able to extract recognition from all the world's countries, institutions, organizations, and regimes on par with their sacrifices, steadfastness, and determination to realize their goals. This was crowned by the occupied homeland's intifadah that recorded a new style and page in the history of modern revolutions. Thus they are a people who yearn for freedom, democracy, national independence, and the building of a democratic society.

All members of the Palestinian people at home or overseas agree that the common denominator of the Palestinian people and national movement throughout the recent past has been the national struggle to end the occupation and gain independence and freedom. The fact that the occupation continues proves that none of

the national goals of our people have been realized and that the common denominator and points of the national program are still valid and will continue to react, conflict, and clash until the real cause departs—until the occupation ends all its military and civilian manifestations and institutions. All agree about the existence of new developments in the region and changes affecting the Palestinian cause. All agree that the Arab region and the Palestinian cause have entered a new phase, but without fulfilling Palestinian aspirations. There must be reviews of history, goals, the situation, and the dimensions of events, lest the national movement be divided and lose its remaining energies and resources and thus cause the people to lose their compass for a time.

View of the Future

I cannot say that I have a complete program or that there is anybody else who can set down a program and demand that others adopt it. There are conceptions of fundamental principles in the mind of some groups (the Program for National Salvation). Many political figures also have points of view that are being proposed in various forms. I think that everything being proposed deserves consideration in a creative democratic spirit that will enable our people to get through a difficult situation. I therefore contribute the following thoughts:

National dialogue should be maintained among activists, intellectuals, and politicians in the groupings of the Palestinian people. It should also be maintained among groups, forces, and the broadest sectors of the people in a democratic spirit that avoids dictating. It should take place on the basis of formulating a national program that will enable the Palestinian people to realize their national aspirations.

All groups of the national movement should review their democratic roles and the amount of their actual participation in helping Palestinian democracy. They should develop their organizational administrative mechanisms in the direction of more democracy and respect for opinion and freedom of expression.

All institutions, activists, and political forces in the occupied homeland should adhere to the slogan of "removing the occupation from the entire occupied homeland." The unified struggles in the field should be united around freeing prisoners, the return of all deportees, opposing settlers and their presence, defending the land, defending the Arabness of Jerusalem, defending the national culture, and defending workers' rights and entitlements, our economy, our water, etc.

There should be cohesion and struggle for democratic freedoms in the areas from which the occupation withdraws—freedom of the press and freedom to organize, demonstrate, and protest. Electoral democracy should be followed in all institutions. Ordinances and laws should be made that protect the citizen and institutions from interference by security and police agencies.

A Final Word

We as members of a militant people have acquired democracy by practice and struggle. We have paid for it with many sacrifices. Despite all the circumstances, we have been able to emerge stronger after every battle of the national movement and each political crisis. Although our national movement has experienced organizational and political crises, yet, because of its roots and our people's experience, resources, energies, and national sense that enables them to bear the difficult as well as the pleasant, our people will continue the struggle to realize their national goals. They will develop their institutions and defend the democratic nature of these social and political institutions.

Algeria

Islamic Strongholds Identified

95AF0007A Algiers *LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR*
in French 04 May 94 pp 8-9

[Unattributed article: "Map of the Violence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Already 5,000 dead in the last 2 years, and 300 more added to the toll each week: Though parts of the country are still free of fire and bloodshed, guerrilla warfare is increasingly becoming a way of life in Algeria. Herewith a status report.

Repeated assassinations, sabotage and burnings of factories and trains, attacks on garrisons, pitched battles with the army...over the last 2 years the Islamists' zone of influence and action has steadily grown.

They have "taken" three strategic regions:

- 1. The center, Algiers, the regime's showcase, with 3 million inhabitants, newspapers, embassies;
- 2. The western region, with important cities such as Chlef, a crossroads and commercial town; Tiaret, in the heart of the mountains; and Bel-Abbes, on the road to the Moroccan border;
- 3. The eastern region, long a sanctuary for Algiers-based Islamists.

Strategically, these three regions under Islamist influence have an opening to the sea. Kabylia is caught in a vise between four Islamist fiefs: Dellys, Bouira, Bumerdes, and Jijel.

Armed Islamist groups are also carrying out spectacular strikes in the heart of large garrison cities (Blida, Bel-Abbes), in a bid to show the army's weakness.

But they have been unable to link up the three regions; or capture the historic stronghold of Aures, Kabylia, or any large industrial complexes. Too, they are neglecting large parts of the territory deemed "not very useful."

Nor have they succeeded in establishing a rear support base overseas or creating an "Islamic army," mainly

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because of internecine strife and very real communication and movement problems. At present, there is only embryonic coordination and mutual support between the MIA [Armed Islamic Movement] (military branch of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front]) and the GIA [Armed Islamic Group] (extremist bands led by "Afghans"). Finally, the Islamists have not yet found a way to spread their political message since the FIS was dissolved.

Conclusion: Through violence, the Islamists are maintaining and expanding significant insecurity in the country; they have succeeded in establishing fiefs where the army feels itself to be on foreign soil. Notably in the mountainous regions and the slums, where they have the initiative and are forcing the military, on the defensive, to curtail operations. But the Islamists are short of arms, despite the porous borders and the weaponry captured in attacks on policemen and garrisons. The Algerian Army, strong and well equipped, has the military means to resist the armed groups. In the last several weeks, it has launched its own massive and spectacular attacks into the very heart of the Islamist strongholds (Blida, Jijel, Dellys, Chlef, Lakhdaria). A final note: There has been much killing, on both sides. The toll: At least 5,000 deaths, and 300 more killed every week.

Tlemcen: region where GIA is uncontested and very strong. Transit zone for arms and men moving to or from Morocco. Many attacks, including the two first Frenchmen assassinated. Attack on an electronics factory.

Oran: very strong military presence. Attack on a noted Algerian playwright. Several policemen assassinated, including an inspector.

Khemis-Miliana: frequent terrorist attacks.

Chlef: attacks against policemen, gendarmes, soldiers, and civilians.

Tissemsilt: Islamist roadblocks; assassination of the prefect and his entire escort last January (19 deaths).

Tiaret: numerous and frequent terrorist attacks. This zone is shared by GIA and MIA.

Laghouat: GIA, a few isolated strikes.

El-Oued: GIA, scattered skirmishes and assassinations. In October 1991, first attack on soldiers at Guemmar (three conscripts murdered).

Algiers: west-central region: the most explosive. GIA and MIA. Very numerous, frequent terrorist attacks on police, gendarmes, soldiers, journalists, intellectuals (Tahar Djaoud, Boucebci, etc.). Many armed robberies at post offices. No government administration in some areas. Spectacular actions: attack on the airport (9 deaths), attack on the Boughzoul garrison, infantry platoon decimated at Chrea (49 soldiers killed), massacre of 12 Croats at Berroughia, etc.

Blida: bellwether city, site of all the demonstrations. On the Islamist side: many terrorist attacks, Islamist-imposed curfew at 1600 hours, wearing of hidjab [traditional Islamic veil] mandatory, prohibition against sales of cigarettes and newspapers. Maximal pressure on society. On the regime side: spectacular reprisals.

Lakhdaria: hard-fought engagements in the bush, first army use of helicopters and artillery.

El-Arba: Islamist fiefdom, frequent army reprisals.

Dellys: heavy fighting, town cut off for 3 days, highly visible presence of actual armed Islamist units.

Tizi-Ouzou: several assassinations.

Jijel region: predominance of MIA, war zone with large number of combatants on both sides, armed Islamist units, Islamist roadblocks, government administrative personnel now concentrated in towns.

Skikda: heavy military presence around petrochemical complex.

Annaba: several attacks on policemen, sometimes fatal.

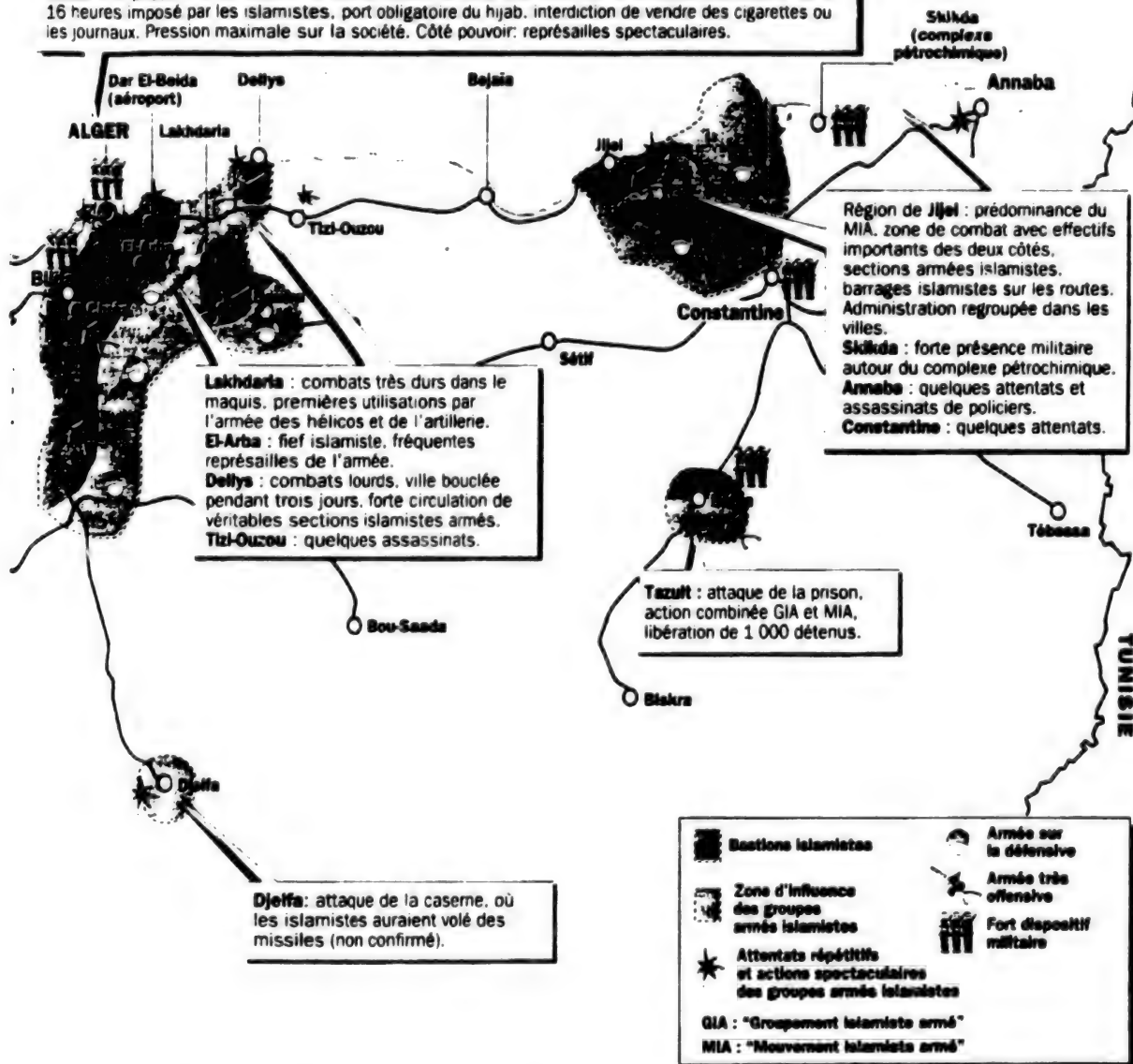
Constantine: a few terrorist attacks.

Tazult: attack on prison, combined GIA-MIA operation, 1,000 prisoners freed.

Djelfa: attack on garrison, where Islamists allegedly stole missiles (unconfirmed).



Alger, région centre-ouest: la plus explosive. GIA et MIA. Attentats très nombreux, très fréquents, contre policiers, gendarmes, militaires, journalistes, intellectuels (Tahar Djaoud, Boucebci, etc.). Nombreux hold-up dans les bureaux de poste. Absence d'administration dans plusieurs endroits. Actions spectaculaires: attentat contre l'aéroport (9 morts), attaque de la caserne de **Boughzoul**, section d'infanterie décimée à **Chréa** (49 soldats tués), massacre de 12 Croates à **Berroughia**, etc.
Blida: ville pilote, ville de toutes les démonstrations. Côté islamiste: nombreux attentats, couvre-feu à 16 heures imposé par les islamistes, port obligatoire du hijab, interdiction de vendre des cigarettes ou les journaux. Pression maximale sur la société. Côté pouvoir: représailles spectaculaires.



Key to legend: Islamist strongholds [darker gray-shaded areas]; Zone of influence of armed Islamist groups [lighter gray-shaded areas]; Repeated attacks and spectacular operations by armed Islamist groups [stars]; Army on the defensive [helmet on circle]; Army very much on the attack [artillery gun]; Strong military presence [soldiers].

Egypt

French Views on Middle East Arms Market

95LD0003Z Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
28 Sep 94 p 9

[Interview with Henri Conze, head of the French General Delegation for Armaments, by 'Isa in Paris; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Whatever was said or will be said about the reduction in military budgets and the decline in arms sales, this trade will remain the backbone of the economies of states that produce arms. These states have an interest in marketing their products in order to survive, so that the doors of their firms will remain open. The Middle Eastern market is considered the main importer of this trade because its arms imports rose 13 percent in 1993 (approximately \$22 billion) in comparison to 1992. Likewise, we have studied the report of the International Institute for Peace Studies in Stockholm. Its annual report mentioned that the United States leads the arms-exporting nations, followed by Russia, and Britain. Germany came in fourth place because, for fifty years, its constitution has prohibited the exportation of arms to areas of conflict throughout the world. France, which came in fifth place, has been at the forefront during the last few years in the Middle East region, which has been considered a traditional market for France. On the other hand, some have mentioned that the absence of the Iraqi market, which represented 30 percent of France's foreign arms exports, was the main reason for this decline in arms sales.

The pressing question that now presents itself is: What are the possibilities for dominating the rearming of the Middle East region in view of the worldwide competition for this trade? When will the Middle East become free of weapons of mass destruction, including those of Israel? Will this frantic competition to acquire these arms continue after peace has spread and security has become well-established in the region?

A representative of AL-AHRAM met Monsieur Henri Conze, the official in charge of the French General Delegation for Armaments [DGA], and questioned him about this. From the outset he emphasized that, for his part, he hopes to limit the world arms market. He said that "We should take this into consideration in our investments and industrial policy, that is we should try to reach the point where we are less dependent upon export markets. In my capacity as the Delegate General of the French Armaments Delegation, I frankly believe in what I am saying. But at the same time, today we in France have reached a kind of satisfactory balance because the size of the French arms industry has grown to about 120 billion francs [Fr], of which about 30 billion, or a little less than 30 percent, comes from exports. This good balance reduces our dependence on the export market, as was the case in the past. This happened thanks to the decisions made by the French

Government with respect to its 1994 budget, and then with respect to its new law, which has been presented for a vote to the Chamber of Deputies. This law requires maintaining the value of our purchases and our research and development in the field of armaments, while maintaining a certain export effort, first, for the benefit of our industry and, second, for political reasons. This is because it is necessary that some friendly countries find a source to supply them with equipment that will be independent of the fluctuating administration of the U.S. Congress, for example. I am emphatic about this.

[Ahmad] What is your view of the difficulty that many French arms firms face when selling their products, a difficulty that last year led the French Government to begin to consider selling some of these nationalized firms to the private sector, particularly Aerospatiale and Thomson? How have the talks progressed in this regard?

[Conze] The French Government has indeed drawn up a list of companies that can be sold to the private sector. This policy began, in fact, in the civilian sector with the UAP [expansion not given] and will not stop there. As for arms firms, at present it is impossible for me to specify exactly the name of a firm that will soon be added to the list. Perhaps it will be Thomson. The government will take a decision in this regard in the coming months. I anxiously await it!

[Ahmad] It is known that French experts have confirmed that France has not obtained its fair share of arms sales to the Gulf, despite its full participation in the Gulf war, unlike the United States, which has obtained the lion's share of that trade. Do you believe that the reason for this is the strong political support the Americans give to American firms, compared to the political support given by the French, which seems, as they say, to be weak?

[Conze] The numbers show that in recent years the rate of French arms sales has reached Fr30 billion a year. This figure is low in comparison to what we exported during the eighties, when this figure reached about Fr50 billion annually. This means a decrease of 40 percent. However, the world market has witnessed a similar decline in arms exports. It is true that the American market has been very active during this period for different reasons, the most important of which are: first, its strong political influence after the Gulf war, and, second, its clear desire to export—a desire that this power did not have during the time of President Carter, and even, to a different degree, during the time of President Reagan, who made it a priority to produce arms in order to respond to specifically American needs. In general, there has been a global decline in arms sales that was obscured for a time by the Gulf war. In reality, we have noticed during recent years a global decline, whether in the Middle East or Latin America, and somewhat less in the states of Southeast Asia. This decline in arms sales is a well-known world phenomenon that does not have to do with France alone.

[Ahmad] But do you not believe that this decline in French arms exports results from the absence of the Iraqi market?

[Conze] There is no doubt that Iraq, according to what the statistics show, was one of the largest importers of French arms in the seventies and eighties because, together with the Saudi kingdom, it occupied the most prominent place among customers of the French arms market. We now see that Iraq has, of course, "disappeared" as one of the most important customers in the arms market, while Saudi Arabia during and since the Gulf war has supplied its arsenal directly and entirely from the Americans. But there are other important matters in this field. France has exported large quantities of materiel to Saudi Arabia, for example, in the field of naval defenses, the most important of which are "Suwari" [as transliterated] frigates. However, it appears that, after the Gulf War, Saudi Arabia no longer gave the same priority to naval arms as it did before.

[Ahmad] In this context we should talk about whether there have been changes in the Middle Eastern arms market as a result of recent developments—developments such as the agreements between Palestinians and Israelis concerning Gaza and Jericho, as well as with Jordan, and which may soon extend to the neighboring states (Syria and Lebanon). How will arms sales be influenced as a result of this?

[Conze] Like anyone on this earth I hope that the problems of the Middle East will be solved by peaceful means. Today they are proceeding in this direction after the marvelous events that have taken place in Gaza and Jericho and, later, with Jordan. In the future this may lead to a reduction in the volume of arms sales to the region to the benefit of investments in the economic and industrial spheres, which will make it possible for the economies of the countries of the region to develop harmoniously. I believe that if the peace talks continue their present progress—and this is what I hope—arms sales to the region will undoubtedly witness an important reduction.

[Ahmad] You had previously concluded a deal with the United Arab Emirates [UAE] to sell them 436 Leclerc tanks at the Edix '93 Fair. (This is what is known as a compensatory contract.) However, news has recently circulated about the cancellation of this deal by the government of the UAE. What is the truth of this news?

[Conze] No, it has not been cancelled. The contract is proceeding normally. The first shipment of tanks will be delivered to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi in a few months to train local crews in their use, and to make sure that they are well acquainted with them as the initial preparation for the next stage when the bulk of these tanks will be delivered in 1996 and 1997.

[Ahmad] Do you have any comment on German Leopard tanks and the preference of several Arab and Gulf states for these tanks over the French Leclerc?

[Conze] There are several matters that need clarification. First, Germany has not offered to sell its tanks to Middle Eastern countries. A political decision has been made on this matter. Second, between Leclerc and Leopard there is a question of generations. The Leopard 2 tank gained its fame at the end of the seventies. It is a very excellent tank that, in my view, was by far the best tank for a considerable time. Today the Leclerc tank belongs to a new and more developed generation of tanks that are completely different from the Leopard 2 in terms of their ability to fire shells and everything connected with information, command, control, and target identification equipment, etc... Perhaps this will change in the future, but today the Leclerc is the only tank of this new and advanced generation.

[Ahmad] I cut him short to ask for clarification: But Monsieur Conze, you are talking about the advanced technology in the French Leclerc tank, parts of which are German-made, such as the transmission, the motor or engine, and the like. Do you have any comment on this?

[Conze] He answered immediately saying: In accordance with the contract with Abu Dhabi, the Leclerc tank is in fact equipped with a German-made transmission and motor that fit the special characteristics of the region. I personally believe that the French transmission and motor that have been installed in the Leclerc tank of the French armed forces have both been more than completely satisfactory. But this is the situation, and the market is the market, as you know!

[Ahmad] I continued asking for clarification. Germany still encounters obstacles that prevent it from exporting its arms. Germany has previously entered into two cooperative agreements with France. The first was in 1991 with Eurocopter. The second had to do with expanding this cooperation (the John Fincher [name as transliterated] program) so that it would include the missile, space, and other arms industries. What is the influence of this on the French market, into which German arms exports are entering in order to circumvent German laws?

[Conze] Today we need to reorganize and rebuild our military and space industries, which are highly divided in contrast to the Americans, and to reintegrate our forces. This is very necessary if we want to continue in this field. There is a clear example that demonstrates the importance of the issue: The American firm Hughes purchased the missile division of General Dynamics because at the end of the present year the capacities of both companies in the field of manufacturing tactical missiles will be merged in Arizona. The size and capability of this new unit, which will be located in one place, will be equal in capacity to the English British Aerospace, the German Deutsche Aerospace, and the French Matra Aerospatiale in the field of missiles. This explains the necessity of cooperation among us in Europe and the existence of these programs, especially the merger of the activities of Deutsche Aerospace and Aerospatiale,

which are missile-related and have achieved great progress. Likewise, there is another program that calls for merging the activities of Matra and British Aerospace in the same field. Reorganization is unavoidable in order to stand up against world and American competition, especially because what is happening today in the missile field happened yesterday in the field of helicopters and will happen tomorrow in the field of space and, perhaps, in other important fields. And, finally, we are working together with the Italians and the British on a frigate that will be operational in the year 2002.

[Ahmad] What about Franco-Russian cooperation in different fields—such as the development of MiG engines, which the French army uses instead of replacing them in new French planes—in order to stimulate the French market, which has been stagnant since the eighties?

[Conze] I disagree with you that France has not sold new war planes since the start of the eighties. There is a huge contract with Taiwan that is on its way to being implemented, whatever may have been said about it and despite the complications. For various reasons we have numerous contacts with the Russians. Russia undoubtedly will be a large market because it is rich in mineral resources and has a population of 250 million that is waiting for an economic recovery that undoubtedly will happen. Cooperation is in the interest of both countries whenever possible for another reason: Russia showed great technological progress when it was part of the former Soviet Union. This encouraged us to cooperate with Russia through Sinkama [name as transliterated], Aerospatiale, SAGEM, and others. This will not be easy because the Western and Russian economies are developing in different ways. From the legal standpoint or that of price and quality control, there are, in general, still clear differences between them and Westerners. Time will be needed to convince our Russian friends to raise their industrial, but not technological, level, which undoubtedly is keeping pace with Western systems, and which will make cooperation with them eminently possible in the field of space, for example.

[Ahmad] After drawing him into the interview, I asked him a question that the majority refuse to answer, which is: There is the issue of Franco-Israeli military cooperation, in particular the recent program of cooperation that was crowned by the visit of the French foreign and defense ministers to Israel. Finally, do you have any comment on this? What are the reasons for it? And is this the right time?

[Conze] He answered me without hesitation: The two visits have in fact taken place. They resulted in the joint establishment of Israeli-French cooperative projects in several fields of research. I know what I am talking about here. To a certain extent they complete the close cooperation that has existed in a general form for a long time between Israel and the European states in non-military fields of research. What has happened, therefore, is a

first step toward completing what existed originally in the civilian realm with joint research operations in military fields. There is also another important reason: our dissatisfaction with tripartite cooperation. You are aware of the strong connection between American and Israeli industry and the weight of American influence in Israel. We, too, have cooperative relations with the Americans in various fields of research. This has created a small problem for us with respect to this tripartite cooperation, a problem that has not been easy to solve.

[Ahmad] But Monsieur Conze, an agreement has been concluded between France and Israel for France to buy a group of pilotless Israeli aircraft. What is your response? Does France need that type of aircraft? Or is it a deal with other aims?

[Conze] As of yet, no decision has been made in this regard. This type of aircraft is one of the possible fields of cooperation between Germany, France, and other states, including Israel. The French now believe that they need this kind of aircraft, particularly because of the crisis in Yugoslavia. France is closely watching any country in the world that manufactures these planes. There is no doubt that Israel has an advanced capability for manufacturing them.

[Ahmad] But there are those who state that the reason for the coming cooperation between Europe and Israel is the role that Israel will play in a united Europe. What do you say about this?

[Conze] There are close relations between Germany and Israel that go back to 1950, just as there are many ties between France and Germany that today have become more developed, thanks to the industrial cooperation that we spoke about previously. Today the "logic" of relations between Europe and Israel has become important, particularly from the standpoint of research, in order to avoid jeopardizing German-Israeli relations. International relations today are becoming more and more complicated.

[Ahmad] What is your assessment of Franco-Arab relations in the field of armaments, which have been hesitant in recent years?

[Conze] There is a need for consultation between France and her friends in the region and in Europe concerning security. These consultations are being intensified today between France and Egypt, with whom contacts are underway. A high-level Egyptian military delegation was here yesterday for discussions relating to communications. Likewise, the chief of staff of the French Army, Admiral Lanxade, recently visited Kuwait to strengthen relations between the military authorities of both countries. Our longstanding relations with Saudi Arabia go back several centuries. Recently, three maintenance contracts were completed this year. There are also consultations between France and Abu Dhabi that concern collective security, just as there are talks of another kind regarding the possibility of developing our economic

relations with the states of this region in two directions, which are going very well. It must be said, however, that the United States has a particularly privileged role in the Gulf. President Clinton is throwing all of his weight behind this. This does not prevent France from trying to establish good political relations with the Gulf states. This is what President Mitterrand, ministers, and senior officials, I among them, are doing. We know that today there are no arms sales agreements with these states on the scale of those that took place in the eighties. There are several reasons for this. The most important reason is economic, which resulted from the cost of the Gulf war. There are also important non-military requirements. Boeing's deal is the only one worthy of mention. You know the reason for that if we exclude mandatory maintenance contracts.

[Ahmad] We have learned that the Ministry of Defense has set aside Fr613 billion, or about \$115 billion, for armaments during the coming six years. What share of that sum will go to the M5 missile? Do you believe that all that will help French firms in the future? What are the other goals of this budget?

[Conze] We adopted a law for a six-year program that has been approved by the National Assembly. This law concerns our future needs in the field of armaments, military industrialization, intelligence, rapid deployment, and other major goals, among them the possibility of developing a large transport plane, perhaps in cooperation with other European companies. Included among these directives is a nuclear program. The previous government decided to launch the M5 strategic missile program. The program of the present government continues its development and has set the year 2010 as the date when it will become operational. This program is extremely complicated and will require several years. This missile will replace the new M45 system, that will become operational next year aboard the new nuclear submarine *Le Triomphant*, which conducted its first trial operations in my presence the day before yesterday. The M5 program will allow us to remain at this level and to continue developing these capabilities and potentialities in France. We have been successful at this since the time of President de Gaulle, when the huge industrial foundation was created in the fields of research, development, and production. We must continue adding to it if we want to maintain our strong position.

[Ahmad] I continued to ask if he personally believes that Iraq still possesses weapons of mass destruction or if they were all destroyed, especially Iraq's nuclear weapons?

[Conze] According to the information I have, Iraq still possesses a large conventional military force as represented by the number of its tanks and artillery. However, the Iraqi air force was entirely destroyed because of the great destruction that befell this state. A large number of its war planes were then transferred to Iran. However, with respect to the nuclear situation, the supervision that

the international authorities imposed upon Iraq is proceeding as it should, despite some of the difficulties that have been placed from time to time in the way of the international inspectors. The problem now is that there are negative factors, the most important of which is that fundamentalist threats are creating confusion in the eastern Persian or Arab Gulf. I don't know what to call it because it has two names. This is one indication of the confusion there. Before the Gulf war we witnessed the Iran-Iraq war that was preceded by friction between Iran, Kuwait, and the UAE in 1975 concerning the ownership of several oil fields. The Gulf war was a foreseeable element of the instability in the Arab Gulf.

[Ahmad] He said, in response to a question about the connection between the invasion of Kuwait and the present problems of the Middle East:

[Conze] The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait proved the necessity of creating a true alliance between the states of the region and other states. For example, for several decades we have developed important economic relations with them. I believe that the lesson that we must learn from this invasion—and there has been tangible progress in this regard—is to create a serious system of alliance and security and a deterrent against any state or leader who would permit himself to undertake an adventure like the invasion of Kuwait. Bit by bit we are achieving this goal. We have thus learned the lesson of the Gulf crisis. Today there is, in fact, the beginning of a mutual approach towards meeting this end among different states such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Kuwait on the one hand, and the United States, France, and Britain on the other, even if the way of achieving a comprehensive system of cooperation and deterrence has appeared separate and independent. I believe that matters are moving in the desired direction.

The head of the French GDA finished his interview with me by saying: I believe that, when the states of the region conclude a solid peace agreement inspired by confidence that will ensure tranquility and permanent stability, the nuclear problem in the region automatically will disappear in time. I believe—and this is my personal opinion—that Israel has long possessed nuclear arms. Egypt has been at the forefront of the cause of peace, and in the search for peace Egypt has been a source of great stability in the region.

Iraq

U.S. Said Responsible For Nuclear Proliferation in Asia

95LH0002A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic
7 Sep 94 pp 14-15

[Article by Political Department: "Who Created Nuclear Terror"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the end of the Cold War and the start of a new era of international detente, some

people thought that tensions—which are backed by threats and counter-threats that might be put to the test at a certain point and then everything will explode—had ended for good. They thought that the world would be dominated by economic powers rather than by political forces that are stronger militarily, as was the case for a long time. However, such belief soon was totally disproved, and these people discovered that the world will not move easily in the direction in which it is supposed to move. Tensions still exist, and the danger of an explosion is still real.

Until a short time ago, the prevailing impression about the Asian continent, particularly the eastern part, was that it was an area of surging economic forces that were only interested in racing to occupy the international center of economic influence by virtue of their industrial progress. However, the past few years, since the beginning of the nineties, proved that this impression was just an illusion. Asia began to witness a wide-scale conventional arms race, and became one of the leading areas of the world in arms imports. Furthermore, some of its states moved toward developing, producing, and exporting certain types of weapons, including missiles, making it possible for some Asian countries to be in a position to threaten the territories of other states. This situation created tension, anxiety, and constant preparedness against a possible military confrontation. Signs of a new era of confrontations began to appear between some Asian countries and between this area and outside forces. What is important here is that this time tensions occurred at a time of major economic and industrial development, achieved under the shadow of a "nuclear ghost," which has imposed itself on some part of Asia and aroused the anger of outside forces, as was the case with North Korea and its nuclear program. This program has become a problem since the beginning of last year. It has almost led to an explosion in the area on more than one occasion because of U.S. pressure on Pyongyang and continuous U.S. threats to punish any country that objects to its reckless policy. This is really the reason for the problem and its complications. This policy created hostility between states to serve the U.S. interest in line with the ill-reputed British principle of "divide and rule."

Political, military, and economic ambitions have existed in Asia during the past decades. They are legitimate and governed by the international race to seek what is best. However, the United States, which seeks unilateral action and domination of peoples' resources and destiny, has tried—and is still trying—to give the impression that the aspirations of peoples to achieve progress and safeguard their independence are illegitimate. The former Soviet Union raised a big storm, because of ideological differences, when China declared in the sixties that it had joined the nuclear club. The United States did much more, because it was afraid that an Asian military power of great consequence in the world had emerged. This was particularly true in the case of China, one of the five

permanent members of the UN Security Council. Furthermore, the United States was afraid that this might polarize many states. These states might later become proficient in the use of military power, which successive U.S. administrations have used to carry out their imperialist objectives in the world.

No sooner had the United States begun to take stock of the Chinese danger to it, when India announced in 1974 that it had exploded a nuclear device, saying it was for peaceful purposes. The United States realized then that a change had indeed taken place in the balance of power and its strategic influence. The United States was no longer interested only in how to contain the Soviet Union. It was then concerned that more than one power had entered the arena, and they declared with confidence that any threat against them would lead to serious consequences. Political and military observers in the world have defined many principles that govern the desire of some Asian countries to possess nuclear weapons. The most important of these are:

- The possession of nuclear weapons by any country might cause other countries to try to do the same, because they need to create a balance of power with that country. China ostensibly was compelled to seriously consider acquiring this dangerous weapon because the United States and the Soviet Union possessed nuclear weapons. The relations and problems that existed among Asian states had prompted India and North Korea to try to acquire such weapons. The same applies to Pakistan and India and the former's consistent effort to acquire nuclear weapons. A statement made by former Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif a few days ago explained some of the reasons that prompted Islamabad to try to acquire nuclear weapons. Nawaz Sharif declared that Pakistan possesses atomic weapons, and that any possible attack by India on his country might lead to a nuclear holocaust. Although the Pakistani Government categorically denied Nawaz Sharif's statement, it did say that Pakistan can actually produce nuclear weapons, but has decided to use this nuclear capability only for peaceful purposes. However, India hastened to accuse Pakistan of threatening it with nuclear weapons, and asked the international community to force Islamabad not to pursue this dangerous course. It is known that India and Pakistan have refused to sign the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. This treaty allows the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect the nuclear installations of states that have signed the treaty to ensure they do not possess nuclear weapons.
- Some states believe that possession of nuclear weapons will lead to the creation of a balance of power that could prevent other nuclear states from making problems, creating tensions, and exercising pressures. However, some aspects of this belief are incorrect today. The possession of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan, for example, has not prevented tension between them.

- The disappearance of the Soviet Union, with its familiar weight, from the international arena has given a strong justification to some states to acquire nuclear weapons. These states used to find in the international balance between the United States and the Soviet Union a strong guarantee for their security. North Korea is known to have been seeking to acquire nuclear weapons since the last decade. This, however, did not worry the United States very much. With the start of this decade and following the collapse of the Soviet Union, North Korea's strong ally, Pyongyang speeded up its nuclear program to achieve relative security and end U.S. pressure on it to change its system and goals. North Korea's specific and declared aim has been to reunite North Korea and South Korea. The United States opposes this goal, regarding it as a violation of its strategic interests. North Korea's insistence on pursuing its nuclear program has caused great anxiety in South Korea, the United States, and even Japan. They began making maximum efforts to pressure Pyongyang to allow inspection of its nuclear installations. North Korea refused, regarding this as a flagrant interference in its internal affairs. Reacting to this pressure, North Korea announced in March 1993 that it is withdrawing from the Nonproliferation Treaty. The United States hastened to announce, through the UN Security Council, its intention to adopt punitive economic and military measures against North Korea. Pyongyang maintained that any such measures would be regarded as a declaration of war against it, and that it would retaliate and teach those who promote such a situation serious lessons. Since then, rounds of negotiations between the United States and North Korea have produced nothing more than delaying an armed clash.
- The problem of North Korea and the efforts of several Asian states to develop their nuclear programs have prompted other Asian countries to seriously think about acquiring nuclear weapons after finding the justification for it. Japan, for example, is one state that is mostly concerned about North Korea's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons, because of the long-standing critical relations between the two countries. Aware that North Korea has developed certain missiles with a range of more than 1,000 km, the Japanese are afraid that North Korea might fit these missiles with nuclear warheads that could hit areas in western Japan and even Tokyo in case of war. Therefore, many observers are not surprised that Japan, which possesses nuclear technology, is seriously considering producing nuclear weapons that could transform it into a nuclear power. Although the Japanese Defense Ministry denied these reports last February and affirmed that Japan has no intention to abandon its principles that prohibit the development of nuclear weapons, some observers still insist that Japan has made important progress in this regard, and that any pressing circumstances might lead Japan to make an explicit announcement about its possession of nuclear weapons. In this gloomy atmosphere, the United

States has found that it has fallen in the same pit it has dug. The policy it has pursued against more than one Asian country, because it believed they possessed nuclear weapons, has led to fears among other Asian countries. This fear has prompted these countries to seriously consider pursuing the same path, because they are concerned about their national security and interests. They also believe that the United States cannot protect other countries, and that its talk about international detente is mere hypocrisy. Therefore, the United States, which has been engaged in a vicious economic war with Japan, has found itself in a difficult position because of the possibility that Japan might acquire nuclear weapons. This would loosen the U.S. military grip, which is still restricting Japan's ability to dominate other economic fields at the expense of U.S. interests. What a big dilemma?

- It seems that the North Korean crisis has increased the interest of more than one Asian country in nuclear arms, causing underlying tensions that could surface in the future and lead to a new arms race in the area. This arms race would assume a completely different form. The nuclear arms race is much different from the conventional arms race. Who can stop it after it begins? How will the United States, which is continuously losing on the economic and industrial levels to the Asian countries, deal with the nuclear capabilities of some of these countries?
- These are just questions, after the dominating nature of U.S. policy has aroused the capabilities of peoples to find the means they can rely upon to end unilateral U.S. action and remove the shackles with which the United States has been trying to control the peoples.

Interruptions in Baghdad Water Supply Viewed

95LH0001A *Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic*
7 Sep 94 pp 18-19

[Article by Sa'ad Muttashir: "Heated Conversation About Water; Citizens Complain of Interruptions; Director of Baghdad Water Supply: 'No Shortage of Drinking Water'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many of Baghdad's districts and suburbs are suffering long interruptions in the supply of drinking water that last up to an entire day or more. The unavailability of water to the citizenry in summer causes many difficulties and discomforts, especially if we were to take into account that there are more than 3 million air coolers in the capital that depend primarily on drinking water. This is in addition to other difficulties that are associated with many practices like cooking, washing, and other basic daily necessities in the life of people.

There are two parties to our topic—the citizen who wastes drinking water and misuses it at times, and the Baghdad water supply directorate. The two parties have something to say about their difficulties, which we have attempted to grasp. Here are the details:

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To start with, it is necessary to recall the circumstances of the unjust embargo, which has substantially contributed to the delay in the delivery of spare parts to drinking-water projects. Subsequently, matters have progressed according to what was possible and what was available in the local market. Giant projects that were designed to contribute to water-purification operations and the delivery of water to the citizenry by preferred methods have also been delayed. We also note that our water situation is better than it is in many neighboring countries. The citizen, however, aspires to the best situation possible, which is his legitimate right. Here are some comments on the interruption of the water supply:

Citizen Akram Talib from al-Saydiyah district says that the district has been continuously suffering from interruptions in water supply, especially during the day. This matter has been disturbing people because they are unable to take their siestas, not to mention the difficulties with cooking and cleaning.

Ms. Sabiha Lu'aybi from al-'Amil district speaks about her difficulties, saying: "Water is pumped to the district neighboring our homes with no interruptions and with strong water pressure, while we, the homeowners in the last sector, have to endure interruptions in the water supply to our homes. Even when the water appears, the pressure is weak, and it does not reach the top floor. We are forced to stay up at night to fill the uppermost tank and to haul water to the coolers on the second floor."

Citizen Naji Rashid of al-'Ubaydi sector proposes setting up a known timetable for interrupting the supply so citizens may make arrangements and store water instead of having interruptions occur suddenly without prior knowledge, leaving them in a predicament. Regarding the difficulties experienced by the inhabitants of the sector, he says: "Yes, there are ongoing interruptions. We appreciate the situation and the circumstances of the unjust embargo; however, it would be preferable if the interruptions were evenly distributed so they would not be at the expense of one sector only. Also, if pumping water to the citizenry is to be by limited allocations, it is better to carry it out at night. What is occurring is that the water supply to the citizenry is being interrupted at times of essential need, during the day. One would assume that competent authorities would look into that."

Citizen Ghazi 'Abdallah, a resident of al-Nur quarter says: "In our quarter, water pressure is weak and does not go up one meter. The water does not reach the wash basins, and we have to wash our hands by the 'help me and I will help you' method. It is strange that the interruptions occur Thursdays and Fridays, when families and housewives have become accustomed to collecting laundry and cleaning their homes. With the method of allocating one day per week, the water supply is being interrupted on those very same days!"

Mr. 'Abd al-Karim al-'Amiri conveyed to us the difficulties of the inhabitants of al-Husayniyah in al-Rashidiyah, saying: "Our water supply is interrupted for

periods that at times reach an entire day or more. We are obliged to go to al-Sha'ab city in our car to bring water from there. Those who do not have a car join others to hire a commercial vehicle for a trip that lasts until midday."

Such difficulties are being experienced by the people of al-Atraf and the inhabitants of al-Ma'amil, Suk al-'Amari, al-Rashidiyah, and al-Taji districts, who are still awaiting salvation. Their difficulties increase during the summer because of the increased need for water.

In al-Nahrawan sector, there are other types of difficulties, but they are no different than the other sectors, where people have to haul and buy water from tankers or bring it in from neighboring sectors: al-Mashtal and New Baghdad. The water in these sectors is available in quantities that are adequate, in spite of the age of the water grids.

Citizen 'Isa Yusif spoke to us in Abi Ghayyb sector: "I suggest that all water-supply interruptions be announced on television so citizens can store a quantity that is adequate to their needs. Also, allocations should apply to everyone on an organized and revolving basis. It should not be applied to one sector to the exclusion of others."

Mr. Nazar 'Abdallah of al-Sha'ab city complains that the first sector, the "beginning of al-Sha'ab," receives water regularly, without interruptions and with strong water pressure. However, the last sector has weak pressure. The reason is that building and commercial establishment owners, who use machines to pump water, are having a big effect on the other sectors and distant homes, thus denying them water. He suggests that monitoring committees be formed to conduct their business in an immediate and ongoing manner and that the machines be confiscated when caught in the act, with the offender's water supply being cut off.

We conveyed these difficulties and complaints, together with other comments to Dr. 'Adnan Jabru, director of the Baghdad water supply. Dr. Jabru spoke with us, saying: "First of all, I am affirming that there is no shortage of drinking water in Baghdad. If a comparison were to be made on the basis of the number of inhabitants of the capital, then it would be considered to be an acceptable rate by international standards."

[ALIF BA'] But there are many complaints?

[Jabru] Yes, the problem we are experiencing can be summed up by the population increase in Baghdad and, conversely, by the halt in initiating new projects during the past 10 years. This has led to a decrease in the per capita share of water. However, it is still within the accepted rate. The real problem lies in the inability, for technical and other reasons that are linked to the country's present circumstances, to distribute the available water to the districts of Baghdad in an organized manner.

[ALIF BA'] And the discrepancy in the distribution of water?

[Jabru] It is true that some quarters that are far from the purification centers are experiencing a reduction of the citizen's share because of our inability to construct the proposed ground reservoirs that would enable us to bring water to the farthest point in the city. There are some quarters—19 out of a total of over 450—with small and very old water pipes that lack the capacity to meet the required need. We are in the process of modernizing them according to a ratified technical program and with our own capabilities.

[ALIF BA'] What about wasting water?

[Jabru] We note that some are conducting themselves badly and wasting large quantities of water by neglecting the internal plumbing of the home. We have estimated that this leads to 150,000 cubic meters per day of wasted water in Baghdad alone. This is in addition to the misuse of coolers by not providing them with water pumps. We have estimated such waste to amount to 100,000 cubic meters per day. The number of coolers is estimated to be 3 million coolers in Baghdad. This is a very large number. This is in addition to the misuse of drinking water for irrigating gardens and washing roads and cars. Our estimate of this waste is in the vicinity of 300,000 cubic meters per day. This quantity is enough to cover the needs of 500,000-750,000 inhabitants per day.

[ALIF BA'] What about water consumption, production costs, and the sale price to the citizen?

[Jabru] The general plan for Baghdad and its water allotments for the year 2000 were drawn on the basis of a daily consumption of 500 liters per person. This is a very high rate by world standards for cities. The cubic meter is sold to the citizen at a price that comes to less than 10 percent of the production cost. The state makes up the difference, which amounts to 60 million Iraqi dinars per year.

[ALIF BA'] It is said that water purification is not being conducted according to the required standard.

[Jabru] In spite of the circumstances of the unjust embargo, the water that we supply to the citizenry conforms to international standards. It is unthinkable for us to supply the citizenry with unhealthy water. Sometimes, we are obliged to reduce water production because of the shortage of chemicals. We are conscientious about the health of the citizenry, and there is no truth to what is being rumored about a decline in the quality of water in Baghdad or its lack of purification. We are reassuring the citizenry on that account.

[ALIF BA'] Are there new projects?

[Jabru] Yes, we have new plans and projects beginning with the improvement and development of the water grid in Baghdad and the initiation of giant projects to

provide water for the citizenry. However, the circumstances of the unjust embargo that the country is undergoing have led to their postponement. We are determined to implement them as soon as the embargo is lifted. [Jabru ends]

Finally we learned from Dr. 'Adnan Jabru that there are five modern stations that have capacities reaching 40 cubic meters per second. However the utilization of these capacities is not complete because the construction of their grids is incomplete. Currently, the crude water stations are operating from 0700 until 2200 on a daily and continuous basis. That is why there had to be allocations in the consumption of water and verification of repairs on pipes and plumbing in homes so the citizen can receive an adequate daily ration and so everyone can enjoy the water.

Israel

Golan Residents' Support for Withdrawal Reported

95AA0007A YEDI'OT AHARONOT (24-HOUR SUPPLEMENT) in Hebrew 4 Oct 94 pp 14, 15

[Article by Guga Qogan]

[FBIS Translated Text] So long as the crowds streamed to Gamla and expressed their solidarity with the hunger strikers; those who opposed this "protest festival" said nothing. These people, Golan residents willing to give up their homes for peace, kept silent. But the victory smiles worn by those against withdrawal galled them. Now that the hunger strike is over, they want to speak.

What ticks them off is the picture that the hunger strikers and their supporters have been trying to paint: that behind Gamla, all the Golan Heights residents are united in opposing territorial concessions and that the entire nation of Israel joins in this opposition.

"That image is not correct. There are people on the Golan Heights who understand that there is no alternative to withdrawal in return for a stable peace—and this is not an insignificant minority," says Re'even Ze'evi, a physical education instructor from Qatzrin. He is not afraid to express his blunt views, which are unpopular with the leaders of the struggle and do not even have the support of his wife, Lili.

Ze'evi is irked by the "Gamla hunger festival," which was financed, he claims, by the local council. "The council drew NIS650,000 from the Golan Settlements Committee to get the whole country to make a pilgrimage and make a personality cult of the strikers," he asserts. "What hutzpa. First they take my money, which is for education, sewage and water, and use it for political purposes, and then they kick out me and everyone who thinks like me."

Despite the differences in their political positions, Ze'evi and his wife agree that more than a few people on the

Golan are afraid to speak their minds. "People who depend on the Council for their livelihood," says Lili Ze'evi, "will not speak out in public in favor of the peace process on the Golan."

"Ninety percent of the people who live on my street," says Re'uven Ze'evi, "realize that the time has come to try a different way. I am not ready to wait another two generations. Why should my children have to fight still again, so that they will have to give back the entire Golan Heights in the end anyway? The whole story of 13,000 people working the soil here, devoted to the land, does not interest the other 3.5 million Israelis who want peace. Everyone in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa has a right to the Golan, just as I have a right to Jerusalem."

Reuven Ze'evi did not go to Gamla to declare his opinions, "but not because I was afraid. True, I saw how they greeted Labor Knesset members in the vulgarist way, but even if I had known that they would treat me decently, I would not have gone. They are not willing to listen to a different point of view."

The Ze'evi's tell of more than a few people they know who go to every possible demonstration and loudly denounce withdrawal, but not for ideological reasons. "They just think that this is the way to jack up the compensation they will get in the end."

Ze'evi ridicules the pure motives of the struggle's leaders. "Most of the hunger strikers are making money from it, making it another stage in their political careers. Yehuda Harel, one of the opposition leaders, is a politician who is thinking about a political party. You have to put things on the table: Mister, are you willing to live in Qatzrin given the risk that you might lose your child tomorrow? Or are you ready to make a big sacrifice so that your child will live, and move to Jerusalem or Haifa? Why present this move in such a dramatic way, as though it were a population transfer or uprooting? There are people willing to sacrifice everything for peace. As the father of two children, I am not willing to sacrifice any more."

"The two weeks at Gamla were very hard for me, as though I were in mourning," says Smadar Hami of Giv'at Yo'av. Hami is known for supporting concessions on the Golan in exchange for peace. "It is a kind of mourning for all our dreams, for the place, for the work we invested in it."

"I regarded the people who set up at Gamla as residents in mourning. People came to see them, to visit and console them, just like a condolence call. And that is how they bucked themselves up, to overcome the loss they soon will face. And they know this. I personally have been sitting here and crying for two weeks. My grief is personal. For each of us, everything is going to be destroyed, and we all know that there is no alternative."

Hami says that everyone is stuck with a terrible dilemma, not just those at Gamla. "We love the Heights,

we built it with our own hands. Our feet know every path. But I also know that my home is not worth a single tear of a mother whose son may yet die. My home is nothing compared to a soldier's eye."

Smadar Hami tried to arrange a meeting in her settlement with the Labor Knesset members who were greeted at Gamla with a shower of insults and obscenities. On the advice of her friends, however, she dropped the plan. Everyone thought that residents of neighboring settlements would come and break up the meeting.

After she was interviewed some weeks ago on "Another Evening," she received telephone threats. "Someone bumped into me yesterday and said, 'Aren't you ashamed to spit into the well you drank from?' What well did I spit in? And why, because I did not take part at Gamla?"

Hami also claims that most people on the Golan share her views. "Many people here are angry at the Golan Settlements Committee, whose activists have done whatever they felt like doing in the name of the entire Golan. That is what hurts. If they want to strike - go right ahead. But why does it have to be presented as though it is the consensus of the Golan? There is no consensus on the Golan. Many residents, especially the old-timers, came here with the feeling that it had been given to them in trust. They built and planted in conditions of uncertainty, and never imagined that someday they would be an obstacle to peace."

Hami invited a friend with similar opinions to the meeting. The friend was afraid to come. "People who have come out in favor of land for peace suffer for it," says Hami. "My friends are afraid that people will be unpleasant to them, that no will say hello to them on the street and that they will sit by themselves at celebrations."

B.N., a Qatzrin resident, initially agreed to be interviewed for this article but, after a "family consultation," asked to cancel our meeting. "Anyone who is willing to leave in return for peace," he explained, "becomes an outcast. I do not want someone to point to me on the street, and I have children in school." He added that someone who says that he is for concessions risks losing his job. "We are not talking just about people who work at the local council. Ask the people who have stated in the media that they are for the peace process what happened to them. This will get worse the more progress there is in the negotiations."

But it is difficult to find hard evidence of the atmosphere of fear and retaliation that many have mentioned. Reuven and Lili Ze'evi's son Eli'ad, who shares his father's views, published an article in the local youth newspaper supporting concessions in exchange for peace. The article was printed in full, and afterwards the boy was not subjected to any negative reactions.

But Qatzrin's Hanan Gilman, who was evacuated from Yamit, also contends that the problem exists. "It will get

worse and become a campaign of intimidation," he declares emphatically. He bases his remarks on "knowing the people working" in the struggle for the Golan. "They make very nice salaries," he claims, "from public funds in order to oppose the peace process. This issue should be investigated."

Nahum Qorda of Ma'ayan-Zivan is not at all troubled by the question whether he belongs to the majority or the minority on the Golan. "There is no reason to think in such terms," he says, "since most Golan residents are not Jews. They are Druze. Anyone bandying about the justification that a majority wants this or that has to be a racist in order to announce that the majority supports him and his positions. You have to be careful about such arguments."

Qorda believes that if the time to leave comes, only a small minority of Golan residents will take to their roofs and use force to resist evacuation. "Even activists in the struggle will do the right thing and accept the decision of the entire democratic system."

After the end of the hunger strike at Gamla, the whole Golan was stirred into action. Many people here understand that it will be difficult to block the process. As one opponent of withdrawal said at Gamla as the crowds streamed in to show solidarity with the hunger strikers, "This is all fine and good, but one move by Asad and the whole structure will collapse like a house of cards. The cards are in al-Asad's hand, and he still has not put them on the table."

Saudi Arabia

Commentary on U.S. Superpower Role

95AE0002A Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 5 Oct 94 p 11

[Article by 'Abdallah Muhammad Bakhaykhar: "America's Selective Intervention"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the Cold War, military intervention by either the United States or the Soviet Union, the two superpowers of that time, in any of the world's hot spots constituted a threat to world peace, as this intervention could develop into a military confrontation between those two powers, resulting in the explosion of the situation and the possibility of a third world war.

Despite the fading of this danger after the end of the Cold War and the loss of one of the most important justifications for U.S. military intervention—defense of the free world from the menace of international communism, the reasons for military intervention by one of the major powers have not yet disappeared. Contrary to expectations, military intervention has become more common now that the United States has been liberated from the risk that military action will be transformed into a military confrontation with the other superpower.

The best known and largest of the military interventions following the end of the Cold War is Desert Storm, the war to liberate Kuwait, considered by some to be a replay of World War II on a smaller scale. It had its political, economic, and strategic justifications, in that there had been a naked aggression against a member state in the international community, located in one of the most important strategic regions of the world. However, this intervention engendered smaller interventions, such as the one in northern Iraq to protect the Kurds from the tyranny of the Baghdad authorities, the one in the former Yugoslavia as a result of the Serbian attacks against the safe havens defined by the United Nations to protect the Muslims and the international peacekeeping forces, and the one in Georgia to prevent the fall of the Shevardnadze government and the secession of Abkhazia.

Although most of these interventions had their causes and justifications—most of them humanitarian justifications to stop a war and protect civilians and international peacekeeping forces, nevertheless it is difficult in the final analysis to separate these justifications from the military intervention's political objectives. Ironically, now that the United States has become the sole superpower, and despite its economic and military superiority in comparison with the other major powers, it is no longer able to bear the burdens of military intervention by itself as had previously been the case. This has forced it to call on other countries for military and material assistance.

There is no doubt that it is difficult for a superpower such as the United States to escape from military intervention, and it must take wise and prudent decisions in this regard, as any mistake, either through intervention or non-intervention, will be politically costly both domestically and internationally.

Lack of proper preparation for the intervention and inability to justify it will anger the American people and provoke their opposition, as the Vietnam complex has not yet been eliminated.

Likewise, non-intervention or lack of participation in an intervention when it is necessary will weaken the U.S. position with regard to its allies. The consequences of non-intervention are no less serious than those of a failed intervention. This is made clear by the destruction and ruin that has afflicted Bosnia and the Muslims there as a result of the American refusal to participate with armed forces.

The issue of whether to intervene militarily or not has now become a provocative issue for U.S. public opinion and one that concerns American politicians. The great challenge is how best to carry out an operation, with the least possible number of casualties. Each case is different, and there is no clear answer to the question.

The failure of the Somalia intervention and the currently anticipated risks of intervention in Haiti will increase the weakness of Washington's positions and make it less

willing to intervene in the future. This will affect negatively the progress of events in other areas of the world that may be in desperate need of assistance and intervention.

The belief that the United States will not intervene except to protect vital American interests is no longer true following the international transformations that have befallen the world since the end of the Cold War. There are humanitarian and political causes that require international intervention to protect violated rights and to deter aggressors, and these interventions must be led by a superpower such as the United States.

If that nation refuses to participate, however, and fears to risk its troops, it certainly will not be able to take on this responsibility and lead any international intervention.

Furthermore, the U.S. choice to intervene selectively in one place and not in another, and to refuse even to participate when intervention is requested of it, will permit other nations to act according to their own interests. This will deprive Washington of the opportunity to impose its policy and its positions, and will deprive other, smaller nations of their rights and their lands, as currently is happening in Bosnia.

Gulf Income Diversification Discussed

95AE0003B Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 5 Oct 94 p 15

[Commentary by Rida al-Mawsuwi, Bahraini economist: "Diversification of Sources of Gulf Income"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The report issued by the Gulf Industrial Investments Organization, regarding the economic situation in the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] nations, gives a general impression of the development process as the GCC organization sees it, especially as pertains to the diversification of sources of national income. This has begun out of the economic necessities of economies that are ready for real growth, free of the convulsions and fluctuations from which the world economy suffers at the present time. This report indicates that the GCC nations achieved a surplus in trade balances during 1992 and 1993. The only exception was Bahrain, which has recorded constant deficits up to the first half of 1994, according to the report of the Bahrain Monetary Agency.

Despite the fact that the status of the balances of trade is satisfactory according to the numbers, that only gives part of the facts, since oil profits and the multi-faceted economic activities that are derived from these profits are still the main source of income. This is a negative point in the course of the Gulf economy, which requires an effective boost in order to share in extracting itself from the cycle in which it has operated for many years. This need has become important now, because the developments surrounding the region and the sweeping initiatives in the world's economies presume a new type of interaction with the present realities. With regard to

oil upon which the GCC states depend, world markets are suffering from a glut, which keeps prices of this raw material subject to fluctuations—mostly downwards—which for their part negatively affect general budgets. These realities must be given official attention in the Gulf. Giving impetus to the diversification of income sources is direly needed. The surplus achieved by the petrochemical industries sector is an expression of the lack of effective coordination in this fertile field, at a time when other industries are experiencing considerable inability to satisfy Gulf demand. These matters are referred to by the report of the Gulf Industrial Investments Organization with something of a warning and a call to create a balance in production, which would lead to a true diversification in national sources of income.

It will not be an easy path for Gulf economies to diversify sources. This is because of outside competition and the immoderate practices used by foreign countries, as well as the economies' weak capability for keeping up with rapid developments on the economic side. In addition there are the problems that are still pending with the European Community. All of this affects the dynamics of the Gulf initiative. However, these problems are not difficult to resolve. On the contrary, there are steps whose implementation require that decisions be made. One example is the unification of custom tariffs in the GCC nations. Nothing can justify delaying this, at a time when everyone stresses the importance of unifying tariffs to solve an important part of the dispute with the European Community, considered to be the most important GCC trade partner. The GCC options have dwindled. It can only hasten to create an advanced state of coordination and build a strong infrastructure based on diversifying sources of income. This will remove the influence of the present fluctuations in oil revenues.

Mecca Water, Sanitation Projects Outlined

95AE0003A Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 6 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Muhammad Dawsh: "Cost of Water, Sanitation Projects in the Holy City, 3 Billion Riyals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cost of water and sanitation projects in the holy city of Mecca totals more than 3 billion Saudi riyals [R].

Engineer Fahd al-Sulayman, director general of the Water and Sanitation Agency for Mecca Province, told 'UKAZ that these projects included installing water and sewage networks and pumping and purification facilities. He pointed out that the agency is currently carrying out several new projects with a total price tag of R167,524,100.

Al-Sulayman added that the new projects include extending the water network to the al-Hijrah Quarter, at a cost of R9,897,201, serving more than 1,000 subscribers; extending the water system to the Gharb al-'Aziziyah Quarter, at a cost of R7,328,542, to serve more than 600 subscribers; and constructing the second stage

of flush toilets and networks supplying 'Arafat, where installing 6,400 flush toilets will cost R68,003,790.

The agency is also implementing a water network project in the al-'Awali Quarter, costing R11,937,250 and serving more than 900 subscribers.

Domestic sewage connections in the area around Wadi Ibrahim will cost an estimated R10 million, and will serve more than 600 subscribers.

Al-Sulayman explained that these projects are expected to be ready for use during this year's pilgrimage season. He said that the agency is also undertaking several other projects, including a project to provide potable water to student housing buildings at Umm al-Qura University in al-'Abidiyah, at a cost of R6,479,858, and the installation of a feeder line, branch lines, and domestic connections in the Ji'ranah area, at a cost of R4.46 billion, which will serve more than 500 subscribers.

A project is also being implemented to reduce the subterranean water level for areas "A and B" in Mecca, at a cost estimated at R21,606,271. The length of the network is approximately 24 km. There is also a project to tie the main water reservoir in Muna into the public network, at a cost of R27,810,788.

At the end of his statement to 'UKAZ, al-Sulayman commended the unlimited support that the agency received for its projects, especially in the holy city, from the custodian of the two holy mosques, his highness the crown prince, and his sagacious government. He also commended the continuous follow-through by his royal highness, Prince Majid Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, the governor of Mecca Province and chairman of the agency's board of directors, and his deputy, Prince Sa'ud Bin-'Abd-al-Muhsin.

Citizen Dissatisfaction with Magistrates' Services 95AE0011A Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 24 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Mahir Ahmad al-Misri: "Magistrate, Temporarily Out of Service"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the intricacies of life, expansion of city districts, overcrowded streets, and the expansion of building everywhere, the magistrate has lost his way in the crowd. Yesterday the man in the streets of the quarter answered. Everyone great and small sat in his office for hours, while many of the problems were concluded and a great deal of information disseminated. He now is no longer able to bear all these burdens, which increase their pressure year after year. He no longer has time. He can no longer delay the rapid rhythm of the age, even to take the opportunity to catch his breath. Despite the fact that he still maintains his life and activities and does all in his power to satisfy everyone in accordance with all his regulations and instructions, some have begun not to be aware of his efforts, concerns, and accomplishments. It is unfortunate that now you hear those people in certain districts

repeating that the magistrate is temporarily out of service and that the headquarters, which he must constantly occupy, many times seems empty of its boss. Therefore the magistrate, despite all he is doing, has begun to come under suspicion. How can the magistrate hide in the midst of the crowd? What keeps him busy at the present time?

Just like any official in society, it is natural that the magistrate's role greatly affects events around him. If certain magistrates are not constantly present in their headquarters, which impedes doing business with the citizens, there are others who never leave their offices or centers. Morning and night they fulfill their duties. However, with the continued expansion of districts and increased population pressures with, consequently, increased transactions and paperwork, the job has gone beyond the capability of some magistrates. Therefore, the magistrate appears to be negligent or unavailable.

Muhammad Najib al-Bukhari, a resident of the Sha'b 'Amir quarter of Mecca, says that the magistrate completely fails to carry out the citizens' business, especially in the mornings, which are considered the critical time to accomplish any business, i.e., office hours. Because of an identification card that he needed, Muhammad had to visit the magistrate's headquarters more than once. After much travail and considerable irritation with the phrase, "unavailable now," he completed his simple business. 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Maqbul suffered from the same situation whenever he needed an identity card, which any governmental agency requires for any transaction. Therefore, he suggests that magistrates schedule regular appointments to be announced at the headquarters or center, provided that they be for either morning or evening. If some magistrates have other duties specifically for them in the morning, there is nothing to prevent them from having a deputy empowered to sign or investigate certain simple transactions that citizens require be expedited.

Ibrahim al-'Abbadi thinks that the magistrate having specific appointments in the morning and evening would eliminate many problems and would decrease the necessity of waiting or searching for him. At the same time, everyone could benefit from his services. If a citizen could not meet with him in the morning, because of being busy with his office hours and being unable to get away, he could meet with him at night. Therefore, the magistrate's appointments can be in sync with the citizen's appointments, and there would be no problem in transacting business, which might be a simple matter but is important. Many decisions rely on these matters within government agencies and utilities.

Among the facts that show the size of the burdens and huge responsibilities that population intensity has inflicted upon the districts is what Turki Ibn 'Umar al-Mahdi told us. He went to the magistrate's headquarters every morning for three days and, when he found him and asked him for a card identifying him as a

resident of the district, the magistrate shocked him by saying: "I don't know you, nor do I know whether you're a district resident or not. If you want the card, bring me two persons from among district residents that I know to identify you." Al-Mahdi said: "Faced with this matter, I brought the two persons and obtained the identity card. I was born in the district, like father and son, but because our magistrate does not reside here, naturally he doesn't know me!"

However, what is the magistrate's defense? Do magistrates behave in this fashion? I believe that all magistrates are not like that. There are those who sacrifice their time, money, and projects in order to serve the citizen and watch over his well-being. Shaykh Salamah Hamid al-Mahmadi, magistrate of al-Zahir quarter in Mecca began his defense by saying: "The magistrate is the intermediary between residents and governmental agencies. His role is not limited only to granting identification cards, as many people think. He serves the quarter in which he works by implementing many requests, requirements, and other services for residents, in addition to his major role in cooperating with businessmen to resolve residents' problems and to find ways of satisfying them. Despite that, his salary is small. The magistrate does not look to salary as much as he looks to the national duty that he carries out for the citizen and resident alike. Although there are some magistrates who are unavailable, that might be against their will. They are also human and have their duties and family responsibilities. I think that any magistrate who thinks himself unable to carry out the burdens and responsibilities of this humane office should excuse himself from it and give the opportunity to someone else, who could maintain the confidence given to him by the specific agency and by the people. As for being occupied with services for people who need them, this does not conform to the nature of the magistrate's role and the responsibilities placed upon his shoulders, especially in light of social integration, expansion of districts, and population increases from year to year."

In addition to his official duties and despite his limited authority, the magistrate performs an important role in stabilizing the quarter in which he works and, consequently, stabilizing society. As Matar Muhayya al-'Asimi, the magistrate of Shara'i al-Mujahidin, says: "He also carries out a number of humanitarian services. His not being in his office in the morning does not mean that he is not fulfilling his duty. He might be busy with other humanitarian tasks, such as transporting certain residents or searching for the destitute and helping them."

Or he could be on a walking tour, searching for those who have stayed behind [from the hajj] and beggars in the quarter, in order to inform the appropriate agency about them. The magistrate went on to say: "The magistrate's working hours, like those of any state official, are scheduled in the morning. Despite that, many magistrates do not adhere to these hours; they work around the clock. Despite that, they are not free from criticism or suspicion. No wonder he's a skeptic!"

Republic of Yemen

Bajamal Discusses Wide Range of Issues

95AE0006A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
14 Oct 94 p 8

[Interview with Yemeni Deputy Prime Minister 'Abd-al-Qadir Bajamal by 'Abdallah Hammudah: "'PC' (General People's Congress) Enjoys Support of Southern Tribes That Reject Partition; Economy Suffers From Structural Flaws, Curable by Political Will"—first paragraph is AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the first interview since his renewed appointment to the post of Yemen's deputy prime minister, 'Abd-al-Qadir Bajamal has stressed, "There is no longer a southern part and a northern part in Yemen." He said that the forces that departed Aden in the wake of the 13 January 1986 developments "were forced to take refuge in the other part of the homeland and that they became tied to leaders in the GPC [General People's Congress] and they harbor partitionist tendencies no longer." Bajamal denied that delay in forming the new cabinet under the chairmanship of 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani is a sign of "reluctant" decisionmaking. He noted that it is important to complete constitutional amendments before the cabinet is formed so it will not be compelled to resign when the amendments are completed. Bajamal stressed that it is important to view the current condition in Yemen from an economic perspective.

Following is the text of the interview:

[Hammudah] To begin with, I would like you to assess the current conditions in Yemen since the end of the war.

[Bajamal] Yemen's current conditions are stable now that the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] military machine has been defeated and now that the full picture of the plot hatched against the Yemeni homeland and people has become clear. We have before us numerous duties to rearrange all conditions, whether resulting from the previous political crisis or from the war, because war creates new burdens.

Regarding the general conditions, we are preparing to recast the political conditions according to the bases of the rules agreed upon in the past. The most important issue in this regard is the constitutional amendments. These amendments will, in my opinion, be implemented as agreed upon because they are part of the process of building the modern state of Yemen. The amendments will deal with numerous issues because the previous constitution was agreed upon nearly 14 years ago. This constitution took into account the concept of the totalitarian system, of which Yemen was a part within the framework of the Cold War. On the one hand, this system exists no longer at the international level, and on the other hand it is no longer appropriate that this

system persist in Yemen, whether from an institutional perspective or from an economic and developmental perspective.

Structural Defects

[Hammudah] If we were to touch on the economic aspect, considering that it is your sphere of interest, then there are economic problems in Yemen. Economic and financial burdens that occurred during the war have intensified these problems. Will these problems constitute an additional burden that impedes the reconstruction process toward which you are heading?

[Bajamal] It is well known that Yemen's economy generally suffers from what we may call structural defects. This is a phenomenon that is fundamentally prevalent in all the backward or less developed countries. The source of the defects is the weakness of the economic structures and framework, and of manpower. Yemen has a human workforce, but it isn't adequately organized. Yemen's development requirements are large and diverse. They cannot be covered at all by domestic resources, because these resources are weak now. Currently, the main resource is oil.

The economic program submitted previously is confronted with two problems: first, lack of political unity to implement this program. Any economic program needs political unity to implement it and to persuade others, as well as the base, with a consolidated and united driving political force.

The second thing is that this economic program took into account the presence of the YSP, its power, and its military machine. This program cannot surmount the YSP's special intellectual and theoretical tendencies. For example, when we discussed the issue of the economic tendency and economic vision that we should embrace, it was generally agreed that we should adopt the market mechanism and develop it as part of the democratic process because it counters the other [controlled economy] aspect. Economic democracy is equivalent and comparable to political democracy. Taking this into consideration, we believe that social democracy cannot be neglected under Yemen's circumstances. We cannot embrace a totally free system under the canopy of a weak human and material structure.

But the main path was to move toward a free economy, adding in this regard a word on which the YSP insisted at the time, namely the word "gradually." When this word was added, it weakened this tendency. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, the word was used as a reservation against any fundamental economic steps we could have taken.

This reservation, represented by the word "gradually," must be eliminated now, and we must raise questions regarding the alternatives projected for this country's economic development strategy.

These were theoretical matters. But practically, the legitimate government's triumph has imposed tangible facts on us. For example, the economic bodies and the infrastructure about which we have been talking are different now from what they were previously. They suffer from greater weakness, destruction, and disability now. Consequently, the program will be undoubtedly changed so we can develop a program through which we shoulder greater responsibility for reconstruction.

We in the cabinet have adopted a decree that will be issued shortly and that we have call the decree to establish a reconstruction fund. This fund will be financed domestically. We will also try to promote foreign investment and foreign aid to reshape the conditions in Yemen, because this is fundamental.

Social Ramifications

[Hammudah] There is a somewhat special character to the positions of Yemen's numerous governorates. Let us consider the governorates that were in the southern part previously. What is the south's current position in light of the problems that have emerged since unity?

[Bajamal] First, regarding positions on the basis of the [two] divisions of the country [north and south], I don't believe that this issue is being framed as it was previously or as conceived by the YSP. I feel that insofar as all governorates, whether Aden or al-Mahrah or even other governorates that used to be called northern governorates—I feel that great and amazing meshing has occurred rapidly because combat activities have taken place in non-southern governorates. When we consider now the list of burdens and of repairs that have to be made in the electricity, water, or road sectors, we find that they exist in 'Imran and must be made there because a battle took place in 'Imran, as well as battles in Kirsh, Qa'tabah, and Dhamar. This means that the reconstruction concern is more comprehensive.

The second thing, which is completely evident in the tangible facts and not in the theoretical statements we used to make in the past, is that if you examine a previous interview I gave AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, you will find that there are social forces, the tribes in particular, that exist in the governorates mainly and that hold decisive positions on any calls connected with secessionist tendencies. In Hadhramaut Governorate, for example, the situation wouldn't have collapsed so rapidly and al-Mukalla wouldn't have been entered in 24 hours if it hadn't been for the widespread rejectionist position taken by the tribes. This is the first thing. Secondly, you are aware that tribes extend throughout all governorates. For example, in Hadhramaut, which is one of the biggest eastern governorates, the population consists mainly of the Himyar, Kindah, and Hamdan tribes. These are the main tribes, and their clans and subdivisions extend throughout Yemen. When one considers the Kindah tribe, one finds that it extends from Hadhramaut Governorate's western district, Daw'an area, to al-Sharurah without interruption. The same applies to the

Himyar tribes. They are meshed tribes and nobody can separate them from each other. This is why one finds that their sentiments and their thinking is the same.

We are aware of this aspect. So, what do people expect after all this? They are waiting for the implementation of projects that have been suspended because of certain policies, and so it won't be said that a certain project was implemented because the GPC and President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih adopted it. We have begun to invite bids for projects that were submitted previously, such as major road projects linking various parts of the region. We have begun inviting bids for such projects in preparation for their implementation.

We have also started with electricity projects and have invited bids for the al-Mukalla electricity project. In the next few days, we will invite bids for the Saywun electricity project. In Aden, there were suspended projects, and we have announced bids for these projects that were suspended because of the crisis.

These issues give people [in charge] a new concern, namely the concern of extensive reconstruction, because some activities were frozen during the crisis.

[Hammudah] Is this tendency some sort of a cure for what used to be said about the southern citizens not feeling that they were equal citizens, for example?

[Bajamal] I clarified the statements made by some leaders regarding this concept of equal citizenship in an interview I gave AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT last year. This issue is not viewed from a political perspective or from a certain angle. The issue exists in any governorate or district, i.e., if the old backward relations prevail, there will undoubtedly be social differences. What I mean is that genealogical or tribal differences—i.e., any tribe that had a larger number of followers or that enjoyed a privilege as a result of a historical process and any [privileged] social faction—were used adversely in the southern and eastern governorates during a certain phase. These differences are still used adversely, because of the dominance of the class struggle concept. What I mean is that the equation was upturned insofar as certain tribes and certain factions descending from certain ancestry are concerned. Privileges were given to other factions that had been at the bottom of the social ladder under backward conditions. They [presumably South Yemen's rulers] said that these factions had to take the top of the ladder. This approach created a major problem and evoked the reaction of other social factions. Even when the struggle over the major national issue, i.e., the unity issue, materialized, there emerged those who wanted to prove that they held a better position and who wanted to say that they were more patriotic, even if we are categorized on a class basis. This [class] issue is evident in any social process one examines.

Issue of Balance

[Hammudah] Now that the war has ended, can one say that the state of unity is balanced?

[Bajamal] There was no flaw in the first place. The flaw was in the governorates that continued to be under YSP control and where the YSP persisted in its previous tendency and engaged in some sort of toppling, even at the social and political level. When the issue of lack of balance or equality is raised, it is tantamount to escaping the state of imbalance existing fundamentally in the governorates that were controlled by the YSP and among the same social classes where the class struggle concept prevailed.

The question is: what did class struggle produce? The result is that certain groups in society were denied [employment in] all the military, civilian, and security institutions in the governorates. Instead of focusing on this condition, which provoked strong opposition, the YSP began presenting it under a different concept: separatism [shatriyah], northern and southern. This is the first thing. There is a very important second matter or observation. I have the figures on the developmental situation in the six governorates that were under YSP control from 1985-90. These figures were issued by the World Bank. It is noticed that in the four years, large numbers of people moved and the population decreased by 4.1 percent. Whereas the population growth rate in Ta'izz and al-Hudaydah was 2.7 percent, we find that it dropped by 4.1 percent in the south. These figures are evident in the statistics book.

Those who emigrated proceeded to the other governorates, such as Ta'izz and al-Hudaydah, where they were treated as native citizens and where they assumed positions, opened private businesses, and worked as professors at Sanaa University because they hadn't been accepted by Aden University.

I know, for example, that university professors in the governorates controlled by Aden's YSP were fewer than those in Sanaa University. Take note of this fact.

[Hammudah] Can one consider this an answer to the statement that unity has been imposed by force, Bismarck-style—a fact which gives rise to the possibilities of its disintegration in a later phase?

[Bajamal] No. If the Bismarck example, which is a specific historical example, is used in connection with other cases in our Arab homeland, its use might cause discomfort. In our history, our historical condition cannot be likened to another historical condition. If we examine the socialist thinking, we find that Karl Marx was once asked: how are the German socialists behaving toward Bismarck's movement? His answer was: Bismarck has performed a genuine socialist act. But even genuine socialism no longer governs YSP thinking, and this is the main contradiction in the YSP philosophy.

In Yemen, the situation is different for a very simple reason: the entire country was divided because of the presence of colonialism, which was defeated. Other than this, there is no place for any comparison between Yemen's situation and the position of 41 duchies in

Germany or Garibaldi's days in Italy. It is different because, first, Yemeni nationality is a single nationality and there is no such thing as borders in any part of the country. What is more, there is no stipulation concerning so-called borders. Border areas used to be called the "outermost regions." The right to work and invest, particularly under the conditions of the north's open economy, has been available. There was no special treatment and no discrimination. The land is open because families and people are entwined and because the country is a single country. The only thing is, as people have said, that there were two systems on the same land and governing the same people. Except for these two things, we had no plan to start. In 1967, we didn't have a plan for a partitioned state. Until 5 June 1967, i.e., just prior to the June war, the National Front didn't have a plan, and this is well known to all people. For your information, the National Front consisted of a mixture of people from all governorates of the Republic of Yemen. There were people from al-Jawf—the name of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il was 'Abd- al-Fattah Isma'il al-Jawfi. The first president of the republic was from al-Subayhah; the first defense minister from Hadhramaut; and the first labor minister from Ta'izz Governorate, I believe.

What I mean is that they represented all of the Yemeni homeland. There was no projected plan. But the Cold War, the June war, and the domestic conditions imposed a certain position. Everybody participated with his forces in the struggle against Sanaa, which became known as the "70-day war."

Those who broke the siege imposed on the Naqayl Yaslah area were a force from the Liberation Front, which wasn't able to share power with the National Front in Aden. Many from the Liberation Front fell as martyrs.

Cabinet Delay

[Hammudah] Moving to another aspect, a suggestion raised currently is: if these conditions are present, then delay in forming the new cabinet or in issuing certain decrees is viewed by some as reluctance on the new Yemeni leadership's part to implement its reconstruction plan and to establish a modern Yemeni state. How do you respond to this?

[Bajamal] To date, three months have lapsed under the current conditions. Therefore, any conclusion is premature. First, a new cabinet should be formed after constitutional amendments are made. If the cabinet is formed first and the amendments follow, then the cabinet will have to resign and be formed anew. Why should we perform the same process twice when we need to perform two processes simultaneously so we can move together toward the constitutional amendments in accordance with constitutional rules. We are very keen to see that the amendments are founded on legal rules so we will not leave any place for any gaps. It is very normal

that the armed forces have been deployed over vast areas and that they have crossed thousands of kilometers. Therefore, their redeployment and reorganization and the main decrees concerning their merger will take a long time. Democracy must follow its normal course without experiencing any of the bumps that existed previously. The war lasted nearly 66 days. During this war, varied forces moved to the easternmost parts of the country. Their place is not there, and they must return to their old positions. This takes time. One cannot conduct many activities simultaneously. There are fundamental priorities. I don't think that we are tardy, that we are waiting for something else, or that we are unable to deal with our conditions. Inversely, affairs are proceeding normally; committees are working; debates are being held; and coordination between the GPC and the Reform Party [YGR, Yemeni Grouping for Reform] is proceeding well and without any of the past negatives. So we can represent democratic life in a better manner.

[Hammudah] I would like a clarification on the point of coordination between the YGR and the GPC because it is said that the reason for the delay in taking certain steps is some sort of a conflict between the GPC and the YGR over war spoils. There is also a southern faction that participated in the war [on the northerners' side]. What is the share of each of them?

[Hammudah] This question is raised by the criteria of foreign viewpoints on the outcome of any war. Yemen's position is different because certain social and political traditions were established in the past. These traditions are some form of rules that must be respected in relations between the country's main forces.

The second thing is that, to start, the coalition needs no conflict because it was founded in accordance with constitutional and democratic rules that are well known. This coalition has been formed between two factions according to the presence of each of them in the parliament. So, where would the conflict come from, considering that we have established this rule?

[Hammudah] But the YGR says now that the YSP has exited from the formula and that there is a void that it, the YGR, wishes to fill.

[Bajamal] There is no void to fill just because the third party has exited. If the third party has exited, then the rule governing the YGR-GPC coalition will continue to be the basis of their presence in the parliament. They share the responsibility in accordance with a clear agreement. In the YGR-GPC coalition, there are no rules other than those agreed upon in the previous coalition. What I mean is that the GPC parliamentary bloc and the YGR parliamentary bloc will be added to form 100 percent, and then cabinet portfolios will be divided accordingly. Each of the two parties can have its alliances with this or that bloc, and each bloc can be represented through the share allotted each party. But this is another matter. The main thing is that we don't wish to establish rules other than the acknowledged democratic rules, so

we can remain true to the traditions, which are clear and explicit. There is no grounds to the statement that the YSP's share will go to the YGR or to the GPC. This issue isn't at all a subject of controversy.

'Ali Nasir's Forces

[Hammudah] Let us turn to the position of the southern faction in the triumphant alliance.

[Bajamal] There is no southern or northern faction any longer.

[Hammudah] Let us call it the units that were known for their loyalty to former President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. What role did these units play?

[Bajamal] First, as to what phrase one may use to correct the phrase used to characterize these units, I leave it up to the press to use whatever it wishes. But I will deal with the question from my perspective. The statement that these forces, which departed (from the south) after 13 January 1986 or which were compelled to go to the other part of the country, are forces that belong to President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad is, in fact, absolutely inaccurate. Recently, these forces have had no connection with 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. They were tied to present leaders who joined the GPC and who now represent these forces' viewpoint. These forces deal with the country's political and social life according to the viewpoint of these leaders. Proof of this is the fact that the vice president and former defense minister is now a prominent member of the GPC's Standing Committee.

Second, these forces, along with other forces, who can be called the "popular brigades," amounting to more than 11 brigades, participated [in the war] because of their experience with and knowledge of the [battle] zones. These forces are more capable of dealing militarily with regions they know and in which they are experienced. They decided to participate because of the hardship they suffered as a result of past division in the army, which was based on partisan precepts. Those who believe that it was based on separatist precepts are wrong. In the YSP, there were brigades that followed the National Front, including the Unity Brigade, which was deployed in Hadhramaut, and the 1st Brigade, or the so-called People's Revolutionary Forces. The Shamsan Brigade, which was deployed in Aden, followed other [political] forces. The statistics that became known after 13 January 1986 show that, after the merger of all the forces, these brigades represented at least 25-30 percent of the military units that flew the YSP banner.

The situation is different now. Everybody truly wants a merger. A very big merger plan, approved by the Supreme Nation Defense Council, has been launched to absorb all the forces, whether considered pro-GPC or pro-YSP, and to strip away their partisanship.

Of course, the merger principles will not be founded on any divisional, tribal, provincial, or factional concept.

The well-known and acknowledged principles in all armies of the world are: how can military force be divided on the basis of specialization, of what is called structure, and of military axes, which constitute a part of the defense strategy of any army. This [division] process is now taking place normally, and there is absolutely no problem.

[Hammudah] Is the role played by these forces in supporting the [current] Yemeni leadership—as people have interpreted the matter—due to the conditions during the four transitional years or due to the treatment these forces received from the Chief of Staff in Sanaa and from the southern defense minister? What is your interpretation of this matter?

[Bajamal] To begin with, you mean the YSP defense minister. As for the answer, if we measure participation in the military operations from the perspective of reaction to the condition of participating units' personnel, then we would do this force an injustice. In fact, we feel that this force called itself the "unity forces" at an early time, not because of the latest crisis or because some people engaged in one-upmanship on the unity issue under certain circumstances. At a very early time, they were considered, named, and called the "unity brigades," meaning that they weren't forces intended to topple the regime in the south or forces financed by another regime in the north. I use the word regime because it is the instrument. The other viewpoint would be justified if these forces were this kind of forces. But these forces have been vigilant and well-adapted to their tasks.

We didn't want to topple a regime existing here or there by using the capable struggle elements in this or that part at the time. This was the YSP's philosophy, which raised the slogan of toppling, of ceaseless revolution, and of the well-known Trotskyite thinking. This was, of course, the lesson with which the [southern] armed forces emerged in the wake of the 1986 development. The forces realized then that they could be effective only within a process of unity, and not within a process of revenge to restore an authority that had seized and displaced them.

Loyalty Issue

[Hammudah] The 5th Infantry Brigade operation in Harf Sufyan was understood at the time as a warning to these forces against joining the YSP and, at the same time, as some sort of struggle among senior officials for the loyalty of these units. Is this true?

[Bajamal] One has to examine what happened in Harf Sufyan in light of the tangible facts. The facts are that from his place in Aden, where he had barricaded himself with various means, the minister of defense issued explicit commands stating, "You have to prepare yourselves to be, first, a part of a plan we are developing in Aden, and, second, prepare yourselves to pounce on a unit that is close to you." But the orders were exposed because of a split. A certain individual, namely

Muhammad 'Ali Ahmad, intervened in this split and used loyalty for his person and his area—not for Abyan in its entirety but for a small area called Lawdar District. Those involved amounted to no more than 200-300 men. In that problem, personal loyalty, more than anything else, stirred within those men. A clash ensued, because upon receipt of the defense minister's orders—which weren't actually issued by the defense minister but by certain people—to take a certain position on a certain issue, the orders were rejected. Consequently, the issue was exposed and people split according to personal and tribal loyalties. You are aware, of course, that Muhammad 'Ali Ahmad was one of the leaders who departed Aden after the 13 January developments and followed his own course, even though he was sympathetic in principle to the GPC. But this sympathy was harbored on the basis of the use of some contradiction here or there. Then the opportunity came to expose this plan, and he took his own exclusive position in this regard.

On our part, we tried to help Ahmad politically, because he had his private personal aspirations. So, the orders were rejected. When the commander, who had a number of brigade commanders with him, decided to receive instructions from another minister, he was replaced. When this step was taken, the problem erupted between the new commander and the previous commander. Thus, the problem came to a point where a decision had to be made. But this is understandable, basically.

The conflict between the commands led to the division of loyalties here and there. If the interpretation is that this part rebelled against the command, then the other part that fought the first one rebelled against another command.

For your information, nobody expected some of those people to emerge as commanders. For example, the current commander is from an area that was in disagreement with Muhammad 'Ali Ahmad at a previous time. But now he is with the legitimate government. If one inspects the picture closely, one would find unthinkable problems with a local character.

[Hammudah] Does one understand from this that the southern faction in Yemen's triumphant alliance doesn't feel that it has been used as an instrument, but that it is a partner in preserving a certain entity?

[Bajamal] All unionists, wherever they come from, are brothers. There is complete unity, particularly on the national issue. Often, what seems harmful turns out to be beneficial. Exposure of the secessionist scheme made all people realize that their life and their entity were threatened and that, consequently, they were called upon to fight each other to obstruct this scheme.

Now, numerous issues can be resolved. I will give you an instance: we found at the premier's office, which was controlled by the YSP, a total of 3,000 suspended individual cases. Specific instructions were attached to

those cases, urging that the cases not be solved so people suffering from an injustice would continue to be tied up. We formed a committee to take stock of these files, and this committee has found out that there were instructions from the premier's office and from various authorities urging suspension of the cases. We are reviving the cases now.

These cases include one that concerns martyrs. A decree has been issued to equate martyrs fallen in all periods of struggle. These are cases that concern orphans and widows.

Alternative to YSP

[Hammudah] What can the southern citizen be offered currently as an alternative to the YSP?

[Bajamal] YSP membership in the north is larger than it is in the south. If you are talking of an alternative to the YSP in the divisional sense, then the YSP didn't represent the south. If it had, it wouldn't have brought in forces from beyond the borders under varied banners—forces that had fought the YSP at one time—to support its secessionist movement.

Here is a major and extraordinary fact: do you know that we found a large number of lower, district-level, YSP leaders detained in Say'un, al-Mukalla, and Lahij jails? They were arrested because of their positions, which contrasted with their [higher] leaders, who managed the battle and tried to carry out a secessionist act. I personally released some of those detained in Hadhramaut.

[Hammudah] Do you mean that the YSP offered the southern governorates nothing, even though it represented them in the parliament?

[Bajamal] The parliamentary representation story is a different story. I have lived with the entire election process. As you are aware, 50 percent of the YSP representatives in the parliament came originally from our faction, which fought with and broke away from the YSP on 13 January [1986]. The representatives came from among our faction members who had rejoined the YSP. I can cite numerous names to you. Those who ran for election participated on the basis of the popular credit they had before the 13 January events.

When those people rejoined the YSP and ran for election, they didn't win on election day because of their YSP credit, but because of their personal credit and history. This advantage was reflected numerically in the YSP interest. But in fact, these people confronted secession during the latest developments. For example, YSP Secretary General 'Ali Salih 'Abbad (Muqbil) is one of those who returned to Sanaa after the developments. Muhammad 'Ali Bamuslim was with me in jail.

[Hammudah] What degree of popular support does the GPC enjoy in the south now?

[Bajamal] Very great.

[Hammudah] How can it be measured?

[Bajamal] Yesterday, a big delegation came from Hadhramaut Governorate to express support and congratulations on the victory.

I will tell you that on the day after we entered al-Mukalla as a legitimate force, the entire force moved in the direction of al-Mahrah, with just a few troops left behind. The whole area from al-Mukalla to Saywun and al-Mahrah in its entirety were under the control of tribesmen who are GPC members, such as tribesmen from the well-known al-Hamum [name as transliterated] tribes. The security director, who is an army colonel, comes from these tribes. The same thing applies to Wadi Hadhramaut, where the Bani Dallah tribes and the Kathir clan supported us fully and replaced the fleeing force. When we entered the province, all the policemen there disappeared. None of them stayed with us for fear of the consequences of previous acts and for fear that the general amnesty decree wasn't credible. But when they felt reassured, they returned. Practically, none of the policemen were there for the two months following our entry. We also drove the army out to other provinces. Consequently, tribesmen organized themselves and proceeded to protect roads and all other facilities.

We in the GPC had established strong relations with the tribes previously. During the crisis, the relations got stronger. We have good channels of communication with them.

Southern Pressures

[Hammudah] What is the possibility of fighting any pressures or disturbances that may be provoked by the former southern leadership?

[Bajamal] To begin with, I believe that the YSP leadership and all the main Central Committee members who are from among the patriotic and unionist elements, including the parliamentary bloc, are concerned with dealing with several issues. The first is the reorganization of their position and leadership. The second issue is to condemn the secession and to break any bond whatsoever with any leader who has fled abroad and who wants to use them as his instruments. I believe that the YSP leadership and the main Central Committee members are reexamining the calculations projected by the party previously, even though they have been left with nothing. Even the financial figures were stolen, and they have no budget. They are reorganizing themselves. In this case, any leadership with a program it has failed to implement on the ground will try as hard as possible to prove its presence for various reasons, including the collection of funding from abroad. Second, such a leadership will try to establish future arrangements for itself, as is the case with any absconder.

But the forces through whom military pressures could be possibly expected to be exerted on certain factions or

military units or who could provoke security disturbances have returned and have been reassured. I have sent tickets to hundreds of citizens in some countries who asked for these tickets. We have welcomed their requests. These people include prominent leaders, among them deputy governors, leaders in major institutions, and military commanders.

In the past, people experienced numerous waves of escape and migration that resulted in tragedies, but never in anything positive. I believe that they will succeed in exerting pressure in this regard. But they may apply pressures through their affiliations and their connections with this or that regional power. I also believe that life's facts are tangible. However, we need security, peace, and stability in this region, we need to respect each state's sovereignty over its territories, and we need to respect what occurs in the state internally. I believe that these calculations are on the minds of governments more strongly than they are on the minds of others because others operate on the basis of dream and fantasy. But every government operates on the basis of calculations connected with its security and stability and with the proliferation of security and stability in the region.

Report on YSP Secretary General Interview

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[Article by Iqbal 'Ali 'Abdallah from Sanaa: YSP Secretary General: We Were Forced Into The Opposition]

[FBIS Translated Text] YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Secretary General, Mr. 'Ali Salih 'Abbad (Muqbil), indicated yesterday in an interview with AL-HAYAH that: "The party's situation should be the same as that of all political forces. The average Yemeni had expected that the new government would be formed on the basis of national unity, and not, as was the case, unilaterally, by the two parties in power, or as acknowledged, by the two victorious parties in the recent war (the [General] People's Congress and the Reform Grouping)."

"Muqbil," who was elected secretary general of the party to replace Mr. 'Ali Salim al-Bid, at the central committee session that took place in Sanaa at the beginning of last September, added: "Regarding the formation of the government, the party has clearly outlined its opinion. Its opinion is that after the war, the country is experiencing a difficult situation and facing serious problems that the two parties in power (Congress and Reform) are unable to overcome, just as the tripartite coalition that existed before the crisis was unable to do. Hence, there has to be a government of national unity in which everyone participates."

He thought that: "That was not taken into consideration last week when the government was formed containing some elements that informed him of previous steps taken and revealed the government's capabilities to him.

It would be difficult now for an extraordinary force to step in from outside and create something new out of it. Other elements are new and lacking in experience. Nevertheless, the [Yemeni] Socialist Party, excluded by force from the previous coalition (Congress, the Socialists, and Reform) subsequent to the first bullet to be fired in the war, will, within its capabilities and potentialities, help the new government to overcome difficulties."

In regard to the socialist position in opposition following the formation of the government, he said: "As of the first shot, we found ourselves, by force and not by desire or choice, to be in the opposition. Hence, for us, being in opposition is the reality in which we find ourselves, and it is up to us to make our way in that direction." He continued: "The extraordinary session of the central committee, which took place last September in Sanaa, considered the future activity of the party and came out with a resolution demanding that the political bureau be obligated not to enter into a coalition government. The party had previously tried such a coalition. That is why we offered a principle for consideration. If the country were not to resort to it, then it would only be possible to resolve it through a government of national unity with the participation of all political forces. However, that did not come about, and that is why we are now feeling our way into opposition."

He added: "But the act of leading the opposition is not one of the party's rights. The opposition and its leadership emerge in the framework of a legally based opposition program. The party does not intend to lead the opposition, but to actively participate in it."

As to the dismissal of four former party leaders, including Mr. 'Ali Salim al-Bid, and the party's position inside the country concerning opposition from abroad, he said: "You realize that the party's central committee held an entire session at the beginning of last September and considered the double phenomena of war and cessation and the condemnation of the operation. This was based on two declarations, one issued in Damascus in August, and the other in Sanaa in the same month. The two declarations confirm that the leadership is inside the country and demand the return of all expatriates, taking advantage of the general and full amnesty that was issued by President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih at the beginning of the war last May. Within this framework, the political bureau that was elected in this session has assumed direct responsibility for interpreting the party's policy. This policy decrees that this new leadership is the one that expresses the party's policy and the pattern of its alliances. However, what took place after this session is that the brothers abroad, in spite of their knowledge, or rather, endorsement of the policy that the leadership is inside the country, have gone too far in speaking in the name of the party, working to create alliances. They also sought to attach the party to the framework of the so-called national opposition front. Prior to that, they sent a letter from abroad that included a declaration of

principles to correct the party's political and national conduct of activities and to achieve national reconciliation. This letter was signed in the name of three former leaders—Salim Salih Muhammad, Haydar al-'Attas, and Salih 'Ubayd. By issuing the declaration of principles or by joining the national opposition front, they have confirmed that they had taken practical steps that are considered to be a clear violation of what was promulgated by the central committee session in Sanaa. That is the cause of the decision to dismiss, which does not mean that the party has turned its back on them. On the contrary, we still adhere to our prior position, demanding a full general amnesty for all, including the 16 who are being sought by justice in Sanaa, and the right of every individual to practice his normal political life inside Yemen and not outside it."

He asserted: "The party stance is one thing and the political stance is another." He said: "How I would have liked to see Salim Salih Muhammad and Haydar al-'Attas come out with a political organization that is exclusively theirs. That would be grounds to respect and cherish them. But they gave themselves the right to speak in the name of a party that has a leadership inside the country."

Citing communications with them, he revealed that: "A number of the party's former leaders will return to Yemen during the next few days." He added: "There is a noticeable discrepancy in the positions of leaders abroad. There are those who support the legitimacy of a party and leadership located inside the country, and others, a minority, who have rebelled against this legitimacy. They include al-Bid, Salim Salih, al-'Attas and Haytham Qasim Tahir."

He maintained that: "The majority support the legitimacy of the leadership inside the country and will revert to supporting the party with capacities that will contribute to the party's future political activity within the national opposition."

He said: "In spite of repeated promises by the executive authorities in Sanaa, nothing has been returned of the party's properties and centers that were confiscated. The party has only been permitted to publish the newspaper (AL-THAWRI), after an interruption of six months. We, in the socialist party, now own nothing but the newspaper." He further states: "There should be no linkage between releasing the party's properties and its rights regarding the assumption of the position demanded by others (a reference to the demand by the People's Congress and Reform that the party's former leadership be dismissed). They are two independent matters. If the government or authorities were to demand something from us, that is their business. However, we do not chart our policy on the basis of what others demand. We determine our policy ourselves." He added: "We are now demanding the return of the party's properties and centers. We have resolved to take the authorities to court in the event that they insist on not implementing this."

India**Rao Meets With Newsmen After Singapore Visit**

95AS0035A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 10 Sep 94 p 1

[Article by S. Viswam: "Singapore Companies To Invest Rs 1,600 Crore"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] On board the Prime Minister's Special Aircraft, Sept. 9: Mr Narasimha Rao has categorically declared that the economic reforms process unleashed by his government has come to stay and is irreversible. However, India would determine the pace and direction of the reforms solely in terms of its own national interests and would not be pushed around by any external pressures.

Addressing an informal news conference on board Air India's *Samudra Gupta* aircraft on his way back to Delhi from Singapore, Mr Rao said that the decisions in relation to the economic reforms and liberalisation had been taken after serious deliberation. There was no possibility of these decisions being reversed. The pace of implementation of the reforms would naturally have to depend on the circumstances obtaining at home. The people had to be educated in respect of the nature and thrust of the reforms so that they understood what was being attempted.

He was answering a question on the effect a slowing down of the reforms would have on the policies of foreign investors who may want to invest in India. They might backtrack and have second thoughts.

"There is no danger of that happening," Mr Rao commented, and went on to add that India reserves the right to determine the pace and direction of the reforms process. He conceded that many potential investors had raised objections in respect of some laws which tended to inhibit the rapid implementation of the reforms. India, he said, was a parliamentary democracy and while the government could make or amend rules and regulation, the task of legislating vested in Parliament. Parliament had its own schedule and operated under its own rules, with the business advisory committee allotting time for transaction of business. All that the government could do was to tell the investors to proceed ahead and take the necessary steps towards making investments with the assurance that the government would in due course take care of legislation. If it could not be done in one session it could be done in the next. There could be no hard and fast rule about this.

Indian and Singapore companies today signed 12 cooperation and joint venture agreements, involving Rs 1,600 crore investments in India.

Mr Rao and his Singapore counterpart Goh Chok Tong witnessed the signing ceremony which was accompanied by discussions between the business delegations from

both the countries. The two leaders also answered questions from the captains of industry relating to the problems they faced.

The agreements covered a wide range, from aquaculture, bakery, banking, commercial office complexes, LPG [liquefied petroleum gas] terminal, mini-township, restaurant chain, ship building, telecom equipment to third country trading. [passage omitted]

Multibarrel Rocket Launcher for Army Tested

95AS0034A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 11 Sep 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Development Flight Trials of Rocket System Pinaka Conducted"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 10—The 14th series of development flight trials of the indigenously developed multi-barrel rocket system, "Pinaka," has been successfully carried out, the Defence Ministry said here today, reports UNI [United News of India].

The trials involved the successful launch of a number of rockets from the prototype launcher to cover different ranges. It was preceded by the successful flight trials of "Pinaka" from an experimental launcher.

The flight trials began last week and were conducted at the proof experiment establishment at Balasore and the interim test range at Chandipur in Orissa.

The recently concluded campaign represents crossing of a significant engineering milestone on the road to providing, manufacturing and inducting of the "Pinaka" in the Indian Army.

The operational value of multi-barrel rocket launchers as complimentary to the artillery guns, has been well appreciated by the Army which has drawn up the performance requirements of "Pinaka."

These mobile-weapon systems are characterized by the capability to deliver saturation fire over targets otherwise not engagable by guns.

"Pinaka" is a weapon system having 12 solid propellant rockets configured for launch from a Tatra vehicle. It has a range of 40 km and can deliver a variety of warheads—prefragmented, incendiary or sub-munition.

The rockets can be fired single or in a salvo lasting less than a minute. "Pinaka" also has support systems in the form of a replenishment vehicle and a command post vehicle.

Papers Report on Visit of UN Secretary General**Remarks to Press**

95AS0032A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 11 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "India, Pak Lack Will To Discuss Kashmir"]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, September 10. The United Nations secretary-general, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said today that both India and Pakistan lacked "strong political will" to involve themselves in a dialogue on the Kashmir issue.

It was in this context that he had put forward a proposal to be an "honest broker" between the two countries so that they could resume a dialogue to resolve the Kashmir issue. He clarified that his proposal was not "an offer" but only meant to nudge the two protagonists to initiate a dialogue. "At the moment they are not talking to each other," he added.

On a three-day visit to India, Mr Ghali spoke to the media at Vigyan Bhavan, offering to field even "non-diplomatic questions," saying he would give non-diplomatic answers.

So far, neither India nor Pakistan had responded to his proposal, Mr Ghali said. He had first broached the subject at a press conference at the end of his three-day visit to Islamabad prior to his New Delhi trip.

He said both the countries would have to study the proposal and formulate their response. He too would have to determine how he could play the "role of an honest broker." He hoped for a positive response from both the countries.

Asked about the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir, Mr Ghali said that the general assembly and the security council resolutions were "political resolutions" and it was upto these bodies to ensure their implementation.

Asked for his opinion of Pakistan's terrorist activities, he replied that any condemnation of such actions would have to come from the U.N. general assembly and the security council. The role of the secretary-general was only to implement any resolution adopted by these and other organs of the world body.

Asked whether the incidents in Somalia, where 10 Indian soldiers lost their lives recently were instigated by elements "jealous" of the good performance of the Indian contingent in the peace-keeping force, Mr Ghali said he had "not heard such rumours." The commanders on the spot were "impartial and objective," irrespective of the country of their origin.

He expressed his helplessness as secretary-general in lifting sanctions against Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait, observing that the embargo had been imposed due to U.N. resolutions and these could only be lifted by the security council.

Mediation Offer Rejected

95AS0032B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 13 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "India Rejects Ghali's Offer To Mediate"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 12. India today rejected mediation by the U.N. secretary-general, Mr Butrus Butrus-Ghali, or any third party on the Kashmir problem and reiterated its readiness to have a bilateral dialogue with Pakistan under the Simla agreement.

Commenting on Mr Ghali's offer to be an "honest broker" between India and Pakistan to encourage talks between them, an external affairs ministry spokesman said India had told the U.N. secretary-general that it was always willing for talks with Pakistan and had conveyed this to Islamabad on a number of occasions.

He said it was for Mr Ghali to persuade Pakistan, which was trying to internationalise the issue, to agree to the talks.

The spokesman said "we do not want anyone to come between us and Pakistan on Kashmir which is totally a bilateral issue."

Referring to Mr Ghali's remark that a political will was needed to resume the talks, he said India never lacked political will to have a dialogue.

The spokesman said the Simla agreement was as relevant now as it was 22 years ago, adding that "nothing beyond the Simla agreement is acceptable to us."

He said India was willing to have talks on the basis of the six non-papers given by India and two by Pakistan. However, Pakistan was placing conditions, including a plebiscite on Kashmir, before the talks could begin. The preconditions were not acceptable to India, the spokesman added.

He said by internationalising the issue, Pakistan felt that it could get out of the bilateral approach to resolve the Kashmir issue.

"We are ready for any date proposed by Pakistan for talks," the spokesman said.

Further Reaction To Entry of Foreign Media Reported

BJP President Advani

95AS0025A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 12 Sep 94 p 15

[Unattributed article: "Foreign Papers Will Hurt Nation: Advani"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bangalore, September 11. The entry of foreign media into the country would seriously jeopardize national interests, as all information that would have an impact on India would be coloured and tainted at the source, the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) president, Mr L.K. Advani, said today.

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Mr Advani, who is on a "Bharat parikrama" said, "I am very much concerned about the entry of multinationals into the consumer sector and the field of newspapers and news agencies."

"PTI [Press Trust of India] and UNI [United News of India] cannot compete with the foreign news agencies. The impact of the entry of foreign news agencies on Indian news agencies, which are already in a bad shape, would be further harmful," he added.

The recommendations of the Cabinet based on the press commission recommendations in 1955-56 required a thorough discussion in parliament before any decision was taken, he said. When a correspondent pointed out that it was a cabinet decision and that the present cabinet could alter it, Mr Advani said, "Over the years it has crystallised into a national policy" and only parliament could take a decision on it.

Mr Advani said that an exception could be made in the case of Karnataka with regard to 50 per cent ceiling on reservations placed by the supreme court "if it was legally feasible."

Addressing a news conference here, he said the approach of the supreme court in fixing the 50 per cent ceiling was correct. However, he felt that an exception could be made in the case of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu where reservations had been in excess of 50 per cent for a long time. He said he was opposed to states being given the discretion to fix the percentage of reservation.

Mr Advani also said that the Centre should take the initiative in averting a constitutional crisis by agreeing to the demand of the election commission to issue identity cards to voters before election. Referring to the statement of the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, that the issue of identity cards was a matter between the states and the Election Commission, he remarked that the Prime Minister was trying to skip the issue. He wanted the Prime Minister to convene a conference of chief ministers to sort out the matter.

Referring to the reported anti-party statements being made by Mr Venkatagiri Gowda, BJP MP [Member of Parliament] from Bangalore, he said the party would take serious note of it. Mr Advani said there was no political significance to his meeting with the swamiji of Adi Chunchunagiri math who represented the powerful Vokkaliga community.

The press council chairman, Justice Mr. R. S. Sarkaria, called for debates in and outside parliament on the entry of foreign newspapers.

Inaugurating a seminar on the "role of media in the present day scenario in the country," the press council chairman urged media organisations to put forward suggestions enabling the government to take a decision.

Of the several issues and problems confronting the press today, he said there was one which might have a profound effect on the economic viability of the Indian

newspapers and Indian news agencies. It is the problem posed by the threatened "invasion" of India by foreign newspapers and foreign news agencies.

Indian Newspaper Society

95AS0025B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 16 Sep 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "INS Opposes Entry of Foreign Media"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bangalore, September 15. The Indian Newspaper Society (INS) yesterday "strongly" opposed the entry of foreign publications into the country and control of print media by them in any manner.

The INS executive committee which reconsidered the issue of entry of foreign publications in India at its 55th annual general meeting here, passed a unanimous resolution to this effect.

The resolution said, "the Indian Newspaper Society if strongly opposed to the entry of foreign newspaper publishers into India and or holding by them or by any other foreign resident of any shares, in any company, for the purpose of printing and or publishing the newspapers/magazines and other such publications in India, or control of print media by them in this country in any other manner."

The communication in this regard is being sent by the society to all concerned in the government, including the committee of ministers constituted for the purpose.

Meanwhile, Mr Vishwa Bandhu Gupta of *Daily Tej* was elected the president of the Indian Newspaper Society.

The other members of the executive are: Mr B.S. Adityan (*Vaarrantari Rani*), Dy. President, Mr Vivek Goenka (*Indian Express*, New Delhi) vice president, Mr Ramesh Chandra (*Navbharat Times*), treasurer, Mr N. Murali (*The Hindu*), among others. Basudev Ray (*Sunday Statesman*), Mr R.M. Cama (*Bombay Samachar*), Mr Tuhin Kanti Ghosh (*Northern India Patrika*), Mr Pravinchandra V. Gandhi (*Janmabhoomi*), Mr Mahendra Mohan Gupta (*Daily Jagran*), Mr Naresh Mohan (*Hindustan Times*), Mr. P.R. Krishnamoorthy (*Maharashtra Times*), Mr R. Lakshminpathy (*Dinamalar*), Adhip K. Sarkar (*The Telegraph*), Mr P.K. Abraham (*Deepika*), Mr S.M. Agarwal (*Kadambini*), Mr S.D. Bhambri (*The Tribune*), Mr Abhay Chhajlani (*Nai Duniya*), Mr Vijay K. Chopra (*Hind Samachar*), Mr Vijay Darda (*Lokmat*), Mr J.S. Dardi (*Charhdikala*).

The present president of the Indian Newspaper Society, Mr Adhip K. Sarkar, regretted that the keyword today "liberalisation" seemed to have no relevance for the newspaper industry.

In his presidential address to the meeting, he said the apparent change in the outlook of the government had

not been extended wholeheartedly to the industry which continued to face difficult times and new challenges.

He said though the press had been discharging its responsibility with caution, he wondered whether it received the due attention and consideration it deserved from the government, for its growth and development keeping pace with the new trends and changing scenario all over the world.

The meeting paid homage to late Mr Tushar Kanti Ghosh, a stalwart of the newspaper industry. He recalled his services to the industry and in starting the society in 1939.

Mr Sarkar said the society was gearing itself to play a much larger role by entering into newer areas to improve the standard of the press, the voice of democracy.

Expressing concern over the dangers the journalists and the newspaper establishments were being increasingly exposed to, he said such attacks further confirm the tremendous pressure the press was coming under. "Government has a vital interest in ensuring that freedom of press is not jeopardised by these elements."

But at the same time, "We in the press also have a responsibility and should play, a restraining role and should not publish anything which flares feelings leading to communal disharmony and violence," he said.

Newspaper Industry Organizations

95AS0025C Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 12 Sep 94 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Newspaper Industry Opposes Foreign Media Entry"—quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 11 (UNI): Five major organisations, representing journalist and non-journalist employees of the newspaper industry, on Sunday said that 'the threatened invasion of India by foreign media poses a serious danger to India's independence and sovereignty' and asked the government to take immediate steps to check its entry.

"In the move to allow foreign media to come to India, we see a recipe for the country's emotional disintegration and a system of remote control of its affairs," they said in a memorandum to the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao. The signatories to the memorandum are: Mr K.L. Kapur, general secretary, All-India Newspaper Employees Federation, Mr Amitabh Roy Choudhury, president, PTI [Press Trust of India] Employees Union, Mr Balbir K. Punj, secretary general, National Union of Journalists, Mr M.V. Shasidharana, general secretary, UNI [United News of India] Employees Federation, and Mr Kuldeep Singh Arora, convener, Media Watch Group.

According to Mr Arora, copies of the memorandum had also been sent to the Information and Broadcasting

Minister, Press Council of India, Editors Guild of India, Editors of several newspapers and leaders of major political parties.

The five organisations said, "We want to make it very clear that our opposition to the entry of foreign media is not promoted by the fear of professional competition. With much lesser remuneration and even with lack of facilities, Indian journalists could professionally compete with anyone in the world," they said.

The memorandum wondered whether the government expected the Indian newsmen to compete with foreign journalist in the way they reported 'Operation Blue Star' in Amritsar in 1984 or the way they had been reporting the alleged human rights violations in Punjab and Kashmir.

"It is well known that the foreign media, based in the west, has been carrying on a relentless campaign over the past many decades to denigrate independent India, to belittle its achievements and to give every encouragement to centrifugal forces, both inside and outside the country, that are out to destroy India's unity, territorial integrity, economic independence and political and cultural ethos," the memorandum said.

The organisations said their opposition to the entry of foreign media was based on a number of considerations. First, the field where the Indian media could not compete with foreign media and huge resources at their disposal. Technologically, they were much ahead of India. They would come with huge financial backing and pick and choose the cream of Indian journalists at very high wages.

"Thus, in the post-entry scenario, Indian newspapers and news agencies, because of lack of resources and communication technology, will be regarded as second rate organisations. That image will certainly keep advertisers away from them. As a result, many of them will be out of business," they said.

The memorandum said an Indian press 'so emaciated' would not be able to stand up to the foreign media effectively when it comes to India's interests and policies. "A weak media will not be able to counter bias and distortion."

The memorandum said the presence of foreign media in India would certainly project separatist organisations in the country.

It urged the Prime Minister to again give a serious thought to the implications of the entry of foreign media before taking a final decision on the issue. "We are sure you will not ignore the strong opposition from organisations like the Press Council of India and other bodies of journalists to the entry of foreign media," the memorandum added.

Reserve Bank of India Releases Annual Report95AS0033A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
13 Sep 94 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Focus To Be on Inflation Reduction"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, Sept. 12—The main objective of the monetary policy in 1994-95 is to bring about a four percentage point reduction in the inflation rate, according to the Reserve Bank of India, reports UNI [United News of India].

In its annual report for 1993-94, the RBI [Reserve Bank of India] said the objective was to contain the money supply (M-3) growth within a range of 14-15 per cent, while ad hoc Treasury Bills would be limited within a ceiling of Rs 6,000 crores. The recent agreement between the RBI and the Centre would help the Central Bank to phase out automatic monetization through ad hoc Treasury Bills in the next three years.

The RBI said that there was an impressive turnaround in the Indian economy in recent months as industrial production, which remained very subdued in the past three years, had started showing clear signs of recovery. Agriculture production in 1994-95 was expected to post a growth of three per cent with encouraging Monsoons across the country.

However, the long term growth rate was estimated at 2.2 per cent per annum, which should be raised to at least three per cent if the overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had to be accelerated, it said.

The RBI said an attempt was being made to ensure that the total expansion in reserve money caused both by the increase in net foreign exchange assets and increase in the net RBI credit to the Union Government be maintained at a level consistent with the envisaged increase in money supply.

The report said there was need for a broader national consensus, before prescribing a mandate for the Central Bank. The Central Bank could not run policies at variance with national objectives of society. Different arms of economic policy were charged with different responsibilities and there had to be a clear enunciation of the overriding objective of monetary policy, it observed.

The major observations in the RBI report are:

- In 1993-94 the economy recorded a growth rate of 3.8 per cent. While the growth rate of agriculture was reasonable, considering the large increase in the previous year, the recovery of industrial production was far less than expected.
- In 1993-94, there was a sharp increase in the gross fiscal deficit and in particular, in the revenue deficit. With the spurt in capital inflows and a large Budget deficit, money supply increase was very large giving rise to inflation.

—The overall real GDP growth in 1994-95 was expected to be around five per cent.

—Since the annual loss to the SEBs [expansion not given] on the revenue account had been estimated to be in excess of Rs 5,000 crores, the pricing and distribution strategies would have to be revamped to enable the PSU [expansion not given] units in the power sector to generate adequate internal resources so that they could tap the capital market.

—The market deterioration in the fiscal situation in 1993-94 was reflected in the Gross Fiscal Deficit (GFD)-Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio of 7.3 per cent against the Budget estimate of 4.7 per cent. It was felt that this should, be rectified so as to keep domestic indebtedness within sustainable limits.

—The rate of interest on Government borrowing had come down in the face of the liquidity in the system. The conventional Budget deficit in 1993-94 was very large and with a large expansion in the net foreign exchange assets the monetary expansion would have been explosive in the absence of the unprecedented large sterilization undertaken by the RBI through open market operations.

—The Budget estimate for the GFD-GDP ratio for 1994-95 is six per cent and the report stressed that it was imperative that there should be no slippage in this target.

—There were clear signs of moderation of the gross fiscal deficit in the early months of 1994-95. Both the Budget deficit and net RBI credit to Central Government was way below the levels reached in the corresponding period last year.

—Revenue receipts, both direct and indirect were showing the required buoyancy.

The report said that since in the current financial year up to August 19, 1994 the outstanding level of ad hoc Treasury Bills had declined by Rs 5,305 crores against an increase of Rs 16,290 crores in the corresponding period of the previous year, the dependence of the Central Government on market borrowing and ad hocs taken together was lower by Rs 8,384 crores this year or by about one per cent of GDP.

More on Uganda President's Visit, Business Pact Signed95AS0036A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 13 Sep 94 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Uganda Woos Indian Industrialists"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, September 12. "My strategy is to let money flow into Uganda and it is up to Ugandans as to how they make their money," said the President of the Republic of Uganda, Mr Yoweri Kaguta

Museveni. He was addressing a group of Indian industrialists at a conference on trade and investment opportunities in Uganda, here today.

Three thousand Indians, who flew out of Uganda in the 1960's, when General Idi Amin gave marching orders to all foreigners are now back in Uganda and have taken repossession of their property. "This was made possible due to liberal policies of the present government," said Mr Museveni.

The emerging African Common Market constituting 330 million people is going to be the hub of economic and commercial activity in about three to four years time. India with its long standing cordial relationship with the African countries can play an effective and meaningful role in spearheading the rejuvenation of African economies by using Uganda as a production and marketing base.

Mr Museveni recalled the valuable contribution made by Indian expatriates in Uganda. "The Madhvanis and Mehtas have set up a new phase in industrialisation in Uganda, which is now emulated by scores of other enterprising Indian businessmen," he said. "What we need is more and more business fraternity coming to our country and utilising our facilities particularly the Preferential Tariff Agreement (PTA) which we enjoy with other African countries thereby catering to a market of over 200 million people."

Mr Museveni disclosed that the African Common Market, which is to be formed, will evolve strategies for bringing down tariffs to zero levels by 2000. Also non-tariff barriers and regulations are being progressively phased out in Africa in general and Uganda in particular. This process is expected to be completed within three to four years.

Meanwhile a Joint Business Council (JBC) Agreement was signed by the Federation of India Chambers of Commerce and Industry and ASSOCHAM [Associated Chamber of Commerce] on one hand and the Uganda National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Uganda Investment Authority, Uganda Manufacturers Association, Uganda Small-Scale Industries Association and the Uganda National Farmers Association as the other.

Analyst Writes on PRC Defense Minister's Visit

95AS0031A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 14 Sep 94 p 9

[Article by Manoj Joshi: "All Is Quiet on the Sino-Indian Front"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, September 13. The Chinese defence minister, Gen. Chi Haotian's visit to India concluded yesterday, after he called on the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, and the President, Mr Shankar Dayal Sharma.

The Indian government is saying little about the visit, apparently so as not to spark off worries among its other important interlocutors like the U.S., the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Pakistan. "If you are looking for agreements, decisions and declarations, you won't find them," notes an official, "that is not the way we conduct our relations, especially with China."

However, notes an observer of Chinese politics, "Though there may be a feeling in government circles that the good news in Sino-Indian relations ought to be kept away from the columns of the press, the real problem is that there is nothing specific that would warrant media attention beyond what has already been given."

The visit of the Chinese official, who is not just the defence minister, but a Korean war veteran, chief of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), state councillor, vice-premier as well as one of the members of the four-member central military commission, is in itself important.

In the past three months, counting Gen. Chi, there have been three Chinese cabinet-level officials visiting India, including Mr. Qian Qichen, the foreign minister. "The chief of the PLA being here, is important not just here in India, but in the Chinese system as well," says another China specialist.

Assessing the relationship between the visit of the erstwhile Union defence minister and present Maharashtra chief minister, Mr Sharad Pawar, who led a four-member defence team to China in 1992 till today, it is clear that the visit signifies the commitment of both India and China towards finding a way out of their vexed border dispute.

"Both the military establishments have signalled that they are not interested in sitting on the frozen Himalayan wasteland forever, and that is the most positive indication that the agreement to maintain 'peace and tranquillity' signed during Mr. Narasimha Rao's visit to Beijing last year will work," says a former official who dealt with the tricky negotiations that led up to the agreement.

The specifics of the implementation of the agreement are being handled by the joint working group and its specially constituted expert group of military officials and surveyors.

The talks between Indian officials and Gen. Chi have been general, related to Sino-Indian relations in the emerging global environment. However, India has raised specific issues like the Chinese view of Burma and other regional topics.

Predictably, the Chinese minister has been quizzed on the military supply relationship between China and Pakistan. The general's response has been a standard one: China does not supply any but defensive weapons to

the Pakistanis and what it does supply does not alter the balance of power in the region and in any case, the supply is not directed against any third party.

Indian assessments of the statements and remarks of the Chinese leaders during the official talks are that the Chinese are keen to settle the border dispute and in the interim implement any measure that will ensure a peaceful border. The Chinese side sees the military-to-military visits as having an intrinsic importance of their own. At any given time they host a number of visiting delegations and these are treated with great seriousness.

Gen. Chi Haotian's visit must also be seen in the perspective of the highly successful visit of the Indian army chief of staff, Gen. B.C. Joshi, to China last month. In his 20,000 km-journey, Gen. Joshi met four out of the seven Chinese regional army commanders as well as the top bosses of the PLA in Beijing. The exceptionally warm and hospitable treatment accorded to him was, according to Indian officials, the best indicator of the state of Sino-Indian relations.

Statement on Ayodhya Filed Before Supreme Court

Details of Filing

95AS0030A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
15 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Centre Files Statement on Ayodhya Before S.C."]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 14.—The Union of India told the Supreme Court today that its action in the Ayodhya dispute would be even-handed in respect of both communities.

If the question—in the Presidential reference—was answered in the affirmative by the court, namely, that a Hindu temple or any Hindu religious structure did exist prior to the construction of the demolished structure, the Government's action would be in support of the wishes of the Hindu community.

If, on the other hand, the question was answered in the negative, namely, that no Hindu temple or Hindu religious structure existed at the relevant time, then the Government action would be in support of the wishes of the Muslim community.

This was stated in a written statement submitted on behalf of the Government by the Solicitor-General of India, Mr Dipankar P. Gupta.

The statement was filed before the five-judge Constitution Bench comprising the Chief Justice, Mr M.N. Venkatachalaiah, Mr Justice J.S. Verma, Mr Justice G.N. Ray and Mr Justice S.P. Bharucha.

The written statement was submitted in pursuance of the court's directive on September 7 asking Mr Gupta to

submit, in writing, the stand of the Union of India on the court's opinion on the Presidential reference.

The Presidential reference was made on January 7, 1993, seeking the opinion of the court on the question whether a Hindu temple or any Hindu religious structure existed prior to the construction of the Babari Masjid at Ayodhya.

Mr Gupta submitted that it was committed to the construction of a Ram temple and a mosque but their location would be determined only after the Supreme Court rendered its opinion on the Presidential reference on the Ayodhya dispute.

Mr Gupta reiterated that the Government would treat the finding of the court on the question as a "final and binding verdict."

He further submitted that the Government would make efforts, through a process of negotiations, to resolve the controversy in the light of the court's opinion, and consistent with it.

Text of Statement

95AS0030B *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
15 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Text of Statement"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Government stands by the policy of secularism and of even-handed treatment of all religious communities. The acquisition of certain area at Ayodhya Act, 1993, as well as the Presidential reference, have the objective of maintaining public order and promoting communal harmony and the spirit of brotherhood amongst the people of India.

Government is committed to the construction of a Ram temple and a mosque, but their actual location will be determined only after the Supreme Court renders its opinion in the Presidential reference.

Government will treat the finding of the Supreme Court on the question of fact referred under Article 143 of the Constitution as a verdict which is final and binding.

In the light of the Supreme Court's opinion and consistent with it, Government will make efforts to resolve the controversy by a process of negotiations.

Government is confident the opinion of the Supreme Court will have a salutary effect on the attitudes of the communities and they will no longer take conflicting positions on the factual issue settled by the Supreme Court.

If efforts at a negotiated settlement as aforesaid do not succeed, Government is committed to enforce a solution in the light of the Supreme Court's opinion and consistent with it.

Government's action in this regard will be even-handed in respect of both the communities. If the question

referred is answered in the affirmative, namely, that a Hindu temple/structure did exist prior to the construction of the demolished structure, Government action will be in support of the wishes of the Hindu community.

If, on the other hand, the question is answered in the negative, namely, that no such Hindu temple/structure existed at the relevant time, then Government action will be in support of the wishes of the Muslim community."—PTI [Press Trust of India]

Amnesty Urges More Serious Response to 1993 Report

95AS0029A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
16 Sep 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Delhi Lackadaisical on J&K (Jammu and Kashmir) Human Rights Abuse: Amnesty"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Amnesty International has urged the Government of India to respond more "seriously" to the more than 200 cases of "disappearance" in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab in view of India's "disappointing response" to an Amnesty report on the issue published in November '93.

In a statement issued recently, the international human rights organization has said that it received little clarification from the Indian Government on most of the "disappearance" cases it had reported.

Elaborating, it says that rejoinder, received on June 20, provides information indicating that only 15 of the 127 cases reported from Jammu and Kashmir have been clarified.

Expressing "deep disappointment," Amnesty has charged the Centre with preferring to focus on political issues raised by Pakistan and others rather than responding to the grave human rights violations documented in its (Amnesty's) previous report.

Although the Indian Government has maintained that it never intended to "overlook, encourage and, much less, actually perpetrate human rights excesses itself," it has shown little determination to halt such "excesses," says Amnesty.

The Government, it adds, has not made a single comment in its rejoinder to the November report on whether it will implement Amnesty's nine-point programme to check such disappearances.

The programme, incidentally, has suggested the setting up of a commission to protect detainees and maintain accurate records of all detainees.

Amnesty has also expressed concern over the way the Centre has "continued to deny responsibility" for the bulk of the disappearances despite there being strong evidence.

The Government, Amnesty says, seems to be continuing its attempts to cover up the disappearances by suggesting that "no missing reports have been lodged with the local police."

The Indian Press and eyewitnesses have regularly reported cases of people disappearing from custody, Courts in Kashmir have found clear evidence of such practices.

But the Centre, Amnesty says, has persistently argued that those who have "disappeared" may be among the thousands who, over the past three years, have been "allured, exhorted and, in some cases, even forced to join the ranks of militants."

In this connexion, Amnesty refers to how a Kashmir court rejected one such claim by the Government in its attempt to explain the disappearance of one Mr Javid Ahmad Ahangar, arrested by the National Security Guards (NSG) in August 1990.

The Amnesty report had given detailed accounts of witnesses testifying in court about Mr Ahangar's detention and torture by the NSG. The Government's one-line response to Amnesty's detailed documentation of the "facts of Ahangar's arrest and subsequent disappearance" is that: "A case has been registered in the police station concerned and is under investigation."

This "response," Amnesty says, was given despite severe criticism of the police by a Srinagar judge for their failure to investigate the "disappearance" and his findings that Mr Ahangar was last seen in the custody of two named NSG members.

In the case related to the "disappearance" of Mohammad Shafi Dar, arrested by the BSF [Border Security Force] in May 1990, the Government, Amnesty points out, contradicted itself by first acknowledging and then denying that he was taken into custody.

With regard to the disappearances of Mr Manzoor Ahmed Zarger, Mr Javed Ahmad Shalla and Mohammed Sidiq Soh, the Government did not respond at all, Amnesty says.

If the Government wishes to demonstrate its stated "respect for the judicial system and the rule of law," it should respond to the substance of numerous *habeas corpus* petitions and follow-up petitions in disappearance cases pending in Kashmir, Amnesty says.

Harshly criticizing the Centre for its "inaction," Amnesty International says that it knows of only three specific cases in which security force personnel have been sentenced to substantive forms of imprisonment for committing rape and other violations of human rights.

In response to Government's query on whether it expressed concern over disappearances in "Azad Kashmir," Amnesty replies that it did not do so since no serious human rights violations were reported from that region.

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Papers Report Meeting of BJP National Executive

Advani Opens Meeting

95AS0038A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 17 Sep 94 p 11

[Article by Anil Saxena: "BJP Gearing Up for State Polls"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Patna, September 16. Faced with an uphill task to rejuvenate itself after suffering a setback in the last assembly polls, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), at the start of its national executive meeting here yesterday, deliberated how to project its best programme in the forthcoming elections in ten states.

The party general secretary, Mr. Govindacharya, told journalists that from a stage where there was "no programme" the party has to be activated to prepare it for the next round of the electoral battle. In these elections, poll confrontation would involve ten state assemblies, six of which would have a representation of 219 members in the Lok Sabha.

In his presidential address, Mr L.K. Advani, said the next major electoral battle would be in two rounds, the first two months hence, and the second, in which Bihar would also figure, five or six months from now. He said the main task for the BJP would be to plan, prepare and resolve to put its best foot forward in the mini-general election.

However, he said the Congress was time and again hijacking the BJP's programme, but added that this was not something damaging for the BJP. He said "it was a matter of pride for the BJP that its agenda today becomes the country's agenda tomorrow."

Mr Advani said the BJP has in the past few years taken big strides towards developing a bipolar polity on the national level and in the coming round of elections it has to exert itself to see that a similar crystallisation takes place in various states also.

He saw immense advantage for his party from the "humiliation" suffered by the U.P. Congress at the hands of its central leadership in the past few days.

He said the Congress's continuing support to the Mulayam Singh Yadav government in U.P. [expansion not given] was a guaranteed pathway to political harakiri for the Congress. He added the day the SP-BSP [Samajwadi Party-Bahujan Samaj Party] combine government goes in U.P. there would be a sigh of relief among the people of that state.

Commenting upon the two statements of the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, that the only aspect of the Kashmir issue which India can discuss with Pakistan was to when it was going to vacate Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) and that the Ram temple would be constructed in Ayodhya, Mr Advani said it was

the public opinion which had forced the government to accept the BJP's stand on these issues.

He said on the Ayodhya issue Mr Rao had consciously omitted reference to the mosque he had been talking about earlier.

Mr Advani claimed that it was only a matter of time before even on issues like Uniform Civil Code or Repeal of Article 370 or the demographic invasion from Bangladesh—or for that matter carving out smaller states like Uttranchal, Varanchal and Vidharbha—public opinion would make the Congress adopt positions which vindicated the stand of the BJP.

Meanwhile, the Bihar chief minister, Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav, in a strong criticism of the BJP's role in the state, said whatever the BJP may do it has not much of a future in Bihar. He said the BJP has chosen to hold its meeting in the state on the eve of the election mainly to spread the communal virus in the state.

The CPI (ML) [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist] state secretary, Mr Pawan Sharma, felt that the BJP was "directionless" and can never be a force to reckon with in Bihar. He said the party has been playing on Hindu sentiments and stood exposed on the Hubli incident. According to him the party had no social base among the backwards in Bihar.

Professor O.P. Jaiswal, history department, Patna University, felt that "the BJP had no economic programme except the one of temple construction which certainly would not solve the problem."

Vajpayee on Nuclear Dangers

95AS0038B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 17 Sep 94 p 17

[Unattributed article: "N-Threat From Pakistan Real: BJP"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Patna, Sept 16. The Bharatiya Janata Party today emphasised that the nuclear threat from Pakistan is "real and urgent" and the government should not play it down by concentrating its attention on international action against Islamabad, but take immediate steps to increase the preparedness of our armed forces.

The veteran BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, decried the tendency in the government to minimise the threat from Pakistan. He warned that this could be very dangerous. He said it was unfortunate that the country did not have a full-time defence minister and pointed out that during the recent visit of the Chinese defence minister to New Delhi, it was our commerce minister who had received him.

Mr Vajpayee said the situation was serious and the government should not take it lightly. He said the BJP national executive in a resolution adopted at its meeting here today has called upon the government to give up its

"ostrich-like attitude and in order to provide absolute security against external aggressions, urgently commence the process to manufacture and arm the defence forces with nuclear weapons."

The BJP demanded that the government should recommence the testing and development of the Agni and Prithvi missiles and induct the missiles into the armed forces. It said that India should continue to develop and deploy an indigenous missiles system and added that it was a grave dereliction of the primary duty of the Narasimha Rao government when it abjures the manufacture of nuclear weapons and brings to a halt the development of the Agni and Prithvi missiles.

Mr Vajpayee said the recent disclosures in Europe, Pakistan and the U.S. have brought to the forefront the grave dangers facing India from unfriendly quarters. It was reported from Germany that unspecified quantities of fissile material was being smuggled out of the Russian republic and some East European countries. It was further indicated that Pakistan is one of the countries interested in importing the smuggled plutonium and tritium from the emerging black market. There is also the real danger of the weapons-grade fissile materials reaching drug cartels, organised crime syndicates and international and national terrorist groups.

The BJP leader said that while the reports regarding the smuggling of weapons grade fissile materials were still being evaluated, the former Pakistan prime minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif, disclosed that Pakistan was already a nuclear power and in case of a war would use its nuclear weapons against India. Another disclosure was made by the Pakistani air attache in Washington, who said that about 10 years ago Pakistan was on the point of bombing the Indian nuclear establishments in Bombay. Mr Vajpayee said taken together all these disclosures provide ample proof that Pakistan must be clearly considered a "rogue nuclear weapon state."

Charges Against Rao Government

95AS0038C Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Sep 94 p 30

[Unattributed article: "BJP Accuses Government of Abetting Graft"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Patna, September 17. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) today issued a 24-point "charge-sheet" against the Narasimha Rao government accusing it of shielding and abetting corruption in different walks of the life and encouraging casteist and divisive forces for getting votes.

It saw very little for the nation to cheer about and declared that a time for change has come.

The charge-sheet, obviously prepared with an eye on the forthcoming elections in the 10 states, said the Congress rule had been a "betrayal of promises," had "shattered

people's hopes" and that the government's pandering to vote-bank politics was leading to casteist and communal tensions.

The national executive of the BJP, which discussed the charge-sheet, decided that in view of the assembly elections it should be translated in all languages and widely circulated. The party also gave a call to observe October 11, the birth anniversary of Jaiprakash Narayan, as *Brasht sarkar hatao divas*, (remove the corrupt government day), in all the districts of the country.

The party president, Mr L.K. Advani who released the charge-sheet said all the party unit presidents of the 10 states going to the polls have briefed the national executive to prepare for the elections. The Ayodhya issue would remain until the temple is constructed, he said but Mathura and Kashi were not on the BJP's agenda, he added.

The charge-sheet said the government had shielded those indicted by the JPC [Joint Parliamentary Committee] report on the banking scam and had permitted multinational corporations and India's big business houses to benefit to the extent of Rs 9000 crores through preferential issue of company shares.

Mr Advani said the government was also guilty of serious neglect of the country's defence and of bartering away of the country's economic sovereignty by accepting the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade].

Making a scathing attack on the Narasimha Rao government for having betrayed the promises made in the Congress manifesto, Mr Advani said the ruling party had promised to roll back prices of essential commodities to the July 1990 level within 100 days but instead they were twice as high today.

There had not been a single year since 1991 when inflation had not crossed double digits and this pushed at least 30 million more families below the poverty line, he said.

As regards the ruling party's promise of creating one crore new jobs every year, the BJP said that economic restructuring had resulted in the number of those registered with employment exchanges crossing an all-time record of 3.72 crore with fear of retrenchment looming large over the industrial sector.

The BJP said that shares of public sector undertakings had been disinvested at artificially low prices to benefit a few favoured share brokers, causing a loss of Rs 3500 crores to the exchequer.

The securities scam had resulted in loss of Rs 5000 crores to banks and the exchequer besides duping millions of small investors but the government had flatly refused to act on the JPC report against the wrongdoers, the charge-sheet added.

Referring to the sugar scam, the BJP said that over Rs 5500 crores was said to have been swindled in this affair and yet, no one had so far been held responsible for it.

"In fact, Mr Sukhrum, who was held guilty of a similar scam in 1989 had since been rewarded with an important portfolio like telecommunication," it said.

Stating that corruption was bad but shielding corruption was worse, the party said that three major cover-up bids had been made. The first related to the Solanki episode at Davos in which the former external affairs minister had handed over a letter to his Swiss counterpart indicating India was not keen on the Bofors inquiry.

Apolitical Trust To Build Temple at Ayodhya

95AS0043A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 17 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "New Apolitical Trust To Build Temple"; names as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Varanasi, September 16. A congregation of sadhus at a conference organised here today decided to construct the Ram temple at Ayodhya at the "garbh graha" (sanctum sanctorum) by a new non-political trust, Ram Janmabhoomi Ramalaya Nyas.

His Holiness the Shankaracharya of Dwarka and Jyotish Pith, Swami Swaroopanand said since time immemorial the place has been recognised as the birth place of Lord Rama. "The Shankaracharyas and seers will not wait for the supreme court verdict," he said. The Ramalaya Nyas will not be linked with any political party. "It will be a Ram temple and not political temple," the swami added.

The proposed trust, he said, will soon be registered. The swami urged the Central government to hand over the land acquired by it to the trust.

The conference also recommended that the temple be constructed on the basis of northern India architecture and be modelled as the Ram temple of Angkorwat (Cambodia).

Although most of the Shankaracharyas were not present at the conference as they were observing 'chaturmasa' in different parts of the country, Ramnandacharyaramnareshacharya of Varanasi through a fax message from Jodhpur approved of the formation of the new trust. Inaugurating the one-day "Sant mahatma sammelan" at Kedar Ghat on the banks of the Ganga here, the Shankaracharya said the temple would be constructed only at the birthplace of Lord Ram and after getting the acquired land.

He said "we are ready to make any sacrifice for acquiring that land and cannot allow construction of a mosque beside the temple lest it again become a bone of contention between Hindus and Muslims."

The Shankaracharya said "we are obilising the opinion of sants and mahatmas for construction of the temple at Lord Ram's birthplace and it will be started only after we get their consent."

Sikkim Governor Resigns, New Punjab Governor

95AS0042A Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*
in English 18 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Governor of Sikkim Resigns; Rift With Limboo Likely Cause"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In a significant development that took Sikkim by surprise, the State Governor, Admiral (Retd) R.H. Tahiliani, sent his resignation papers to the President on Saturday.

The resignation, sources in Gangtok said, was promptly accepted and Mr P. Shiv Shankar, Congress(I) leader and former Central Minister, was appointed as the new Governor.

Mr Shankar, prominent during the Governments of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, had met the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, on Wednesday, according to an agency report.

Mr Tahiliani's decision to resign came in the wake of a message from the Centre earlier in the day requesting him to turn in his papers, sources close to the Governor told *The Statesman* over telephone from Gangtok.

Mr Tahiliani had reportedly asked to be relieved of his post about two months ago.

Incidentally, the Governor's initial decision to quit came soon after the former Chief Minister, Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari, was ousted from power last May.

Mr Tahiliani's growing differences with the State Chief Minister, Mr Sanchaman Limboo, have been no secret in political circles in Gangtok.

But this time, what precipitated matters, sources pointed out, was the decision taken by the central leadership of the Congress(I) on Wednesday to affirm the merger of Mr Limboo's Sikkim Sangram Parishad (S) with the party.

Subsequent pressure by the Congress(I)'s central leadership on Mr Tahiliani—instigated by the Chief Minister—could have resulted in Saturday development, sources said.

The Governor is expected to express his views—on events that apparently compelled him to resign—at a tea party scheduled for Monday.

But sources indicated that Mr Tahiliani was "unhappy" with the way the Government was going about its business for quite sometime now.

If the Centre had wished, his resignation could have been accepted as soon as it was submitted two months ago, sources said. "Obviously somebody else's thinking had a bearing on life developments," a source said.

"It was an extremely sensitive matter and whatever the Governor had chosen to do was in the interests of the State," said Mr Tahiliani's A.D.C. [Aide-de-camp].

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Mr Tahiliani, who assumed office on February 8, 1990, was known for his good relations with Mr Bhandari, the then Chief Minister, according to political observers in Gangtok.

Differences between Mr Bhandari's successor—the present Chief Minister—and Mr Tahiliani were evident from the early days of Mr Limboo's tenure.

Things apparently came to a head when the Governor reportedly insisted that certain facilities, including security personnel and police vehicles, be granted to the former Chief Minister even after he had been stripped of power.

Mr Limboo did not agree. And last week, he decided to withdraw the facilities being enjoyed by his predecessor.

Agencies add from New Delhi: According to a Rashtrapati Bhavan release, the President tonight appointed Lt. Gen. B.K. Chibber as Governor of Punjab. Mr Khurshed Alam Khan has been given a fresh term as Governor of Karnataka.

BJP To Contest Seats in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka

95AS0039A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 19 Sep 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "BJP To Contest All Seats in South"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Patna, September 18: After suffering electoral reverses in the northern states, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has decided to contest all the assembly seats in the forthcoming elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

The party's central election committee which met here on Friday expressed happiness about the encouraging reports received from its unit in Karnataka. Even in Andhra Pradesh, where the BJP at present have only six MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly], the BJP leaders see good prospects for the party.

The meeting, which was presided by the party president, Mr K.L. Advani, and attended by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and others decided that though the BJP has yet to make its presence felt in Sikkim, it would now contest a few seats in that state. It has asked its northeast unit to prepare a report in this regard.

In Goa, the BJP is in the process of holding talks with the Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) for electoral adjustments. It may even contest the polls with the MGP as its partner.

The general secretary of the party, Mr Pramod Mahajan, said the BJP's prospects in the forthcoming assembly elections were also discussed by the national executive and reports from the party's state units going to the polls in November were reviewed.

Regarding Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Vajpayee said the BJP was against holding elections in that state until the restoration of complete normalcy, but if the elections were forced, the BJP would certainly contest them.

General Discusses Army Plans for Prithvi

95AS0028A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Army Likely To Induct Prithvi by Next Year"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 19—The army is expected to induct the indigenously developed surface-to-surface Prithvi missile by mid-1995 and will also be acquiring unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) from abroad to augment the short range missile system.

"We are on the final stages of the user trials and the missile system should be ready for induction very soon," said the director general, Artillery, Lt Gen Romesh Khosla, while talking to newsmen on the eve of the 168th anniversary of the Regiment of Artillery. Later, while talking to TOINS [expansion not given], Lt Gen Khosla said that the Prithvi missile, which would be fitted on mobile launchers, would be ready for induction and deployment by mid-1995.

In reply to a question Lt Gen Khosla revealed that "an embryo unit" comprising officers and men trained in the handling of the Prithvi missile system "was already in existence." "We are working on establishing a complete service and maintenance infrastructure before these missiles are eventually inducted into the army," he revealed.

Although Lt Gen Khosla declined to reveal from where and by when the UAVs would be inducted into the army, he confirmed that Israel was "one of the contenders." "But we are also trying to develop this system ourselves," he added.

Sources meanwhile states that the army intended to raise additional regiments for the induction of the Prithvi missile. "We hope to raise additional regiments for this purpose rather than going in for an equipment change of existing artillery regiments," said a senior army officer while requesting anonymity.

"We prefer to start with fresh manpower," he said while observing that the approach of pick and choose of officers and men from existing regiments "will upset the ethos of the units."

In the initial phase the army intends to raise four regiments comprising 16 Prithvi missiles each. The first regiment with Prithvi missiles is under raising at Secunderabad which also happens to be the location of the Defence Research and Development Laboratory (DRDL) where the missile was developed.

The units are likely to be part of the army headquarters reserve.

Trade, Cooperation Pack Signed With Tunisia*95AS0026A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 21 Sep 94 p 10*

[Unattributed article: "Indo-Tunisian Pact on MFN Status"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 20 (PTI): India and Tunisia on Tuesday decided to accord each other "most favoured nation (MFN)" treatment by signing an agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

The MFN treatment would apply to export and import and customs duties and encouragement to economic, investment and technological cooperation including establishment of joint ventures in each other's territories and in third countries.

The agreement was signed here on Tuesday by Mr Kamaluddin Ahmed, Minister of State for Commerce on behalf of India and by Mr Sadok Rabah, Minister of National Economy for the Republic of Tunisia.

CPI-M Leader Discusses Election Policy*95AS0027A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
21 Sep 94 p 5*

[Unattributed article: "CPI(M) Reiterates Stand on 'Communal' Parties"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Thiruvananthapuram, Sept. 20.—The Communist Party of India (Marxist) reiterated its position that it will not enter into any political alliance with "communal" parties, including the Indian National League led by Mr Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait. But it has not closed its options for "cooperating" with these outfits.

Talking to *The Statesman*, a member of the CPI(M) Politbureau and secretary of the State Committee, Mr E.K. Nayanar, however, ruled out the possibility of the Leftists withdrawing from the Thirurangadi byelection, to be held within the next two or three months, in favour of the INL.

The INL had supported the victorious Independent candidate, supported by the Left, in the byelection from Guruvayoor. Byelection from Thirurangadi became necessary when Mr U.A. Beeran, a Indian Union Muslim League candidate, resigned. He later joined the INL.

Since the INL helped the Independent candidate, supported by the CPI(M), to win at Guruvayoor, there had been speculations that the gesture would be reciprocated at Thirurangadi by the Leftists.

The present stand of the CPI(M) leaves the INL with two options. It may support the Left candidate, but this would amount to leaving the electoral scene. The other option is to join the People's Democratic Party, led by Mr Abdul Nasser Mahdhani, and field a joint candidate.

The PDP candidate at Guruvayoor had polled an impressive 14,000 votes. Mr Mahdhani had declared that the PDP would not fight an INL candidate.

Mr Nayanar denied that the controversy created by the article of Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, on Mahatma Gandhi and communalism, had affected the party in any way.

Mr Nayanar told *The Statesman* that the differences between the two Communist parties on issues like reservation for the Backward Classes and the concept of creamy layer within these communities, had no adverse impact.

Commerce Minister Addresses Editors' Conference*95AS0040A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 22 Sep 94 pp 1, 9*

[Unattributed article: "Pranab Rules Out Import of Consumer Goods"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 21 (UNI): The Union Commerce Minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, on Wednesday refused to permit the import of consumer goods under the open general licence (OGL), saying that it was the only incentive available to exporters.

Addressing the economic editors conference here, Mr Mukherjee said most of the consumer goods were manufactured by the small scale sector in the country generating large scale employment. "If the consumer goods are allowed to be imported under OGL, the country's small scale sector will be hit hard," he said.

The minister said an integrated view had to be adopted in this regard. "Let us wait and see how the impact of special import licence which is being relaxed every year, and which is working on the market forces."

The Commerce Minister said no, while the Finance Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, underscored a need for the import of consumer goods to make Indian items competitive only a week days ago.

Mr Mukherjee recommended a "comparative rate of interest" for exporters to boost exports and remove various hurdles. "The Reserve Bank is doing something on those lines. But there is still room for improving the quality and quantum of interest to be given to the exporters," he added.

The minister said the overall performance of the export sector during the first four months of the current fiscal year, was "not satisfactory." It had fallen to 8.6 per cent during April-July this year compared to 20.4 per cent during the corresponding period, last year. "It is a matter of concern to us," he said, and added that suitable measures had been taken to reverse the trend.

Mr Mukherjee identified a higher rate of inflation, withdrawal of IRP [expansion not given] scheme from

April this year affecting engineering goods, non-completion of quota agreements for textiles export to the United States, Europe as well as indifferent attitude of 10 major trading partners like the U.S., the European Union, Japan and Canada, which account for 60 per cent of India's exports, as the main reasons for the shortfall in exports this year.

He said the Dr V. Gopal Reddy Committee had submitted its report to the Commerce Secretary, Dr Reddy, Additional Secretary in the Ministry, had been asked to identify reasons and suggest remedial measures to boost exports.

Mr Mukherjee also said that the government is seriously concerned over the shortfall in plan expenditure in the first three years of the Eighth Plan (1992-97) as the resource gap to be bridged is estimated to be a whopping Rs 18,000 crore in the remaining two years of the plan period.

Indicating this, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission said that in the first three years of the Eighth Plan, expenditure in real terms has been short of pro rata target.

Against 60 per cent for the first three years, the actual was only 53.29 per cent, leaving a shortfall of almost 7 per cent, he said. The first three years expenditure were based on 1992-93 (actuals), 1993-94 (revised) and 1994-95 (budgeted).

While the Centre's plan expenditure target was short by only 1.4 per cent as it achieved 58.6 per cent pro rata, the States had a whopping shortfall of almost 15 per cent as their plan expenditure was only 45.29 per cent.

At this rate of plan expenditure, Mr Mukherjee said, "We will not go beyond 85 per cent of the plan expenditure target if the current rate of additional rate mobilisation (arm) efforts persisted."

Giving details of the performance of different sectors, Mr Mukherjee said that in the case of agriculture and allied sectors during the first three years, the expenditures worked out to only 52 per cent at the Centre and about 59 per cent at the State level as against the target of 60 per cent in both cases.

For the transport sector, Mr Mukherjee said, "Things are better." The plan expenditure in the Railways during the first three years worked out to 61 per cent of the Eighth plan outlay wherein the railways had done well.

Meanwhile, a paper circulated by the Planning Commission on the occasion says that against the background of the emerging trends, the macroeconomic prospects for 1994-95 are one of cautious optimism.

The gross domestic product (GDP) is also expected to grow by at least 5 per cent. With better agriculture and moderate recovery of industry, the GDP could even grow by about 5.5 to 6 per cent, the paper said.

The price situation is expected to be under control

Kashmiri Woman Held for Spying, Weapons Seized

95AS0041A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 23 Sep 94 p 11

[Unattributed article: "Kashmiri Woman Held for Spying"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, September 22. A young Kashmiri woman, reportedly operating as a Mata Hari, was arrested by the special branch of the Delhi police just before she could deliver some documents to an official of the Pakistan High Commission here.

Besides 44 pages of documents pertaining to military formations, two hand-grenades were seized at the instance of the suspect, identified as Ms Jahanara Zahid alias Guddi, a resident of Srinagar. She has been remanded to police custody till September 30 after being charged under the Official Secrets Act and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA).

Iftiqar, a resident of Muzaffarnagar, who had come to meet her at a hotel in the walled city, was also arrested by the police yesterday.

The deputy commissioner of police (Special Branch-II) Mr B.S. Bola, said today that efforts were being made to trace one Zakir Dalig of Meerut who helped the woman carry out her operations in parts of western Uttar Pradesh and Delhi.

"Jahanara was operating both as a spy and a terrorist. On the one hand she passed information to Pakistani intelligence agencies while on the other she recruited young militants in the Valley."

Investigations so far have revealed that Ms Zahid was married twice. Her first husband divorced her while her second husband left her and went to Saudi Arabia to work. While staying alone in Srinagar, a Pakistani intelligence field operative, Fida Hussain, came in contact with her. He "virtually recruited her and told her to accompany him to Pakistan so that she could make money and also help him," Mr Bola said.

The 25-year-old woman fell for it and went with Fida Hussain to Pakistan. At Bahawalpur, she met an officer of the directorate of military intelligence who introduced himself as Col. Malik. He asked her to procure some military secrets and, in turn, gave her Rs 5,000 as the first installment. She came back and started helping the Pakistanis. "In all, she went thrice to that country and each time she was given a different brief by Col. Malik who remained in touch with her," he said.

Mr Bola said sometime last year, she started visiting Delhi and through some contacts got in touch with an army officer of Lucknow. She also started visiting the Pakistan High Commission here and obliged people by getting their visas cleared. She met Zakir Dalig and

Iftiqar and they formed a ring in Western U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and Delhi. Iftiqar was in touch with the army personnel in Meerut and Roorkee.

During one of her visits to Pakistan, Col. Malik asked her to recruit some Kashmiri youth for militant activities. She agreed and is believed to have influenced some youth to join the militancy movement in the Valley. "To test her further, Col. Malik asked her to take photographs of various military formations at the Republic Day Parade this year. She actually came to Delhi and sat in the public enclosure and took pictures which were delivered to the Pakistanis."

Mr Bola said she was in constant touch with the Pakistanis from her house in Srinagar. She had acquired a telephone and her bills were phenomenal. In Delhi she used to frequently stay at Shaan Hotel or Neeru Hotel. He said Zakir Dalig's wife who had gone to Pakistan also arrived in the city yesterday. Efforts were being made to trace her.

West Bengal Opens Doors to Foreign Investment

95AS0037A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 24 Sep 94 p 16

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Calcutta, September 23. West Bengal has opened its doors to foreign investment and technology, co-opting the private sector in developing infrastructure and services, in its new industrial policy which was announced here today. The long-awaited statement makes it clear that the CPM-led [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Left Front has no ideological hang over about doing business with multinationals and foreign investors, thus joining the rest of India in the race for attracting foreign capital investment.

The metamorphosis in West Bengal is evident since the policy statement has been released simultaneously from Calcutta and Singapore, where a team of state electronics industry has signed three new agreements in electronics.

The policy asserts that the state government is "oriented towards promotion of new investments, encouragement of new technologies, promotion of employment and productivity, rehabilitation of sick industries through a process of reconstruction, modernisation and/or diversification and protection of the legitimate interests of the workforce keeping in view the overall health and productivity of industry." This is a clear indication that trade unions will have to toe the line, rather than call the shots through militant action.

The policy identifies the key areas where private and foreign investment will be welcomed. Power, improvement and upgradation of industrial infrastructure, social infrastructure, like housing, health, education, water supply and hotels have been earmarked for private sector participation, directly and through joint sector projects.

Industries that will receive special attention will be petro-chemicals and downstream industries, electronics

and software, iron and steel and metallurgical as well as engineering, textiles, leather and leather products, food processing, edible oil, vegetable processing and aquaculture, medicinal plants, rubber, palm oil and tea, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, tourism, gems and jewellery.

Criteria for Congress(I) Candidates Told

95AS0045A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
26 Sep 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Congress(I) Lists Eligibility Criteria for Candidates"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 25.—The Congress(I) central leadership today set out a series of conditions for prospective candidates in the forthcoming Assembly elections, report PTI [Press Trust of India] and UNI [United News of India].

The guidelines, released by the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee(I)] general secretary, Mr Janardhan Poojary, emphasized that party leaders, including senior Ministers, would be denied tickets if they failed to fulfil these conditions.

The guidelines, directed at the PCC(I)s [Pradesh Congress Committee] of the 10 States going to the polls over the next few months, mentioned two major conditions:

- Each aspirant for a nomination would have to sign a pledge declaring the number of public meetings he has organized to highlight the Centre's (and the State Government's) achievements.
- He would also have to state the number of primary and active members he has enrolled for the party from August 9 onwards.

The AICC(I) has also asked the State party units to ensure the district Congress(I) committees provided details of the criminal antecedents, if any, of all ticket-aspirants.

Talking to reporters, Mr Poojary gave details of the guidelines:

- District Congress(I) committees would finalize not more than five candidates for each constituency.
- The PCC(I)s would appoint observers for each district, while the DCC(I)s [District Congress Committee] do the same for each panchayat samiti area in each Assembly constituency.
- District observers would visit the panchayat samiti areas along with the DCC(I) representatives to finalize the recommendations.
- The meetings of the DCC(I) executive committees would be attended by PCC(I) observers and Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha M.P.s [Members of Parliament].

—Adequate representation would have to be given to women, minorities, the weaker sections and the backward classes.

The non-refundable application fee for a nomination has been fixed at Rs 500 for ordinary candidates, and at Rs 250 for S.C.s [expansion not given] and S.T.s [expansion not given].

Stating that these "major factors" would apply to all, Mr Poojary added: "If any aspirant, including senior Ministers, failed to fulfil these conditions, they are bound to lose their tickets."

Jayaprakash Narayan Views Revisited

95AS0024A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 29 Sep 94 p 6

[Commentary by Jayaprakash Narayan: "Why Is India not a Hindu Republic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, I became very popular in West Bengal for a short period. This was a very pleasing experience. Who is there that does not like receiving laurels from the people? However, now I have returned to the position of an ordinary person in that state—a status like that I had in the past.

This personal history shows how cheap it is to become popular. Even one statement can make a person very popular. Then, another statement can make the same person fall in the eyes of the people. Unfortunately, in my political life, I focused on the true path of serving my country and the people and not just popularity.

History is witness to the fact that the glamour of popularity does not always agree with national interests. Leaders have to control their lust for popularity and have to make sacrifices in this area. Mahatma Gandhi is a living example of this in our history. I want to make it clear that I am not putting myself in the list of the founders of the nation. I am just a humble servant of the nation. The purpose of referring to history here is just to get this situation into proper perspective.

I have been accused of being crafty and Mr. Nehru has been called the villain of this drama because he allegedly convinced me to change my opinion. In some parts of the country "Nehru phobia" is of epidemic proportion as is cholera.

In the light of this psychological atmosphere, it is appropriate that I explain the situation related to Mr. Nehru. Twenty years ago, in the beginning of 1930, just after returning from the United States, I had started my political life under Mr. Nehru as the secretary of labor department of the All India Congress Committee. Mr. Nehru was the president of the Indian National Congress. I have respected and loved Mr. Nehru since that time and have learned a lot from him.

It has been fortunate for me that Mr. Nehru just like Mr. Gandhi had always trusted and loved me whether I

agreed or disagreed with him. Unfortunately, I find myself disagreeing with him for the last few years over major issues.

After the revolution in August, when the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay, Mr. Nehru himself proposed that we accept the Patrick Lawrence plan for India's independence. I opposed him on behalf of the socialist group and asked him to reject the plan totally. This sudden acceptance is what kept us out of the vidhan parishad, a part of this plan.

When the Nehru government was formed, its official policies forced me to leave the Congress and form my own independent socialist group. At present, my major difference with him is over my insistence to lay the foundation of a socialist India now while Mr. Nehru has put socialism on the back burner. His government wants to rebuild the economic and political structure of our nation on the present private enterprises.

If I had abandoned my own independent thinking on Nehru's insistence, as some people have pictured it, I would have been somewhere else than in the ranks of the opposition. To me, opposition never meant taking inappropriate advantage of the nation for the sake of the party.

Whenever I met with Mr. Nehru during the last few years, some newspapers spread rumors about possible coalitions between the Congress and the Socialist parties. Each time, these rumors have been proved to be wrong. Still, they went on playing their game fearlessly.

It would be appropriate to share here the position of the Socialist Party on the present crisis? Perhaps, the people will accept it if they consider it with a cool head. At the same time, I will also discuss my policies.

Pakistan was born over an imaginary principle and because of some evil actions. The principle is that a nation should be based on religion alone. Based on this principle, it was said that Bengali Muslims and the Pathans in Northwest Frontier Provinces [NWFP] belong to one nation. However, Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims who belong to the same race, speak the same language, and live in the same village, belong to two different nations!

This principle is so unreal that the imperialist organization would have failed in implementing it unless some evil actions were introduced in this system. These sinister actions were riots. It does not matter whether Hindus killed Muslims or Muslims killed Hindus or whether it was the massacre in Calcutta or in Noakhali or Bihar or Garhmukteshwar, the effect was the same: Hindus and Muslims cannot live together because they belong to two different nations.

The combination of the principle and its implementation divided our nation, however, there was no major result of this division. The two-nation theory did give birth to two separate countries, however, both "nations"

continued to look at each other across the border. The major question was: Will these "independent nations" live with each other peacefully and have equal citizenship rights to all their people?

This was the same question that faced the undivided India. If the answer was "yes" then the division and the resulting bitterness and enmity were unnecessary. Both nations could live within undivided India very well.

Both countries responded to this historic question from their different environments. When Congress accepted the idea of the division, it did not accept the two-nation theory. It continued to believe in the Indian nation and only accepted the idea of dividing the country because it was lesser of the two evils. The greater evil was the continuing religious riots. Thus, India moved forward with faith in equal nationality ignoring a small group of communal minded people.

The group that came to power was non-sectarian. Our national constitution clearly said that India is a secular and democratic nation. Now the job was to fill the chasm. The Indian Muslims who had grown up with Mr. Jinnah's theory should have found it hard to accept the idea of equal citizenship, however, since this theory was unrealistic, they did not have much difficulty.

The situation on the other side was totally different. The proponents of that theory became the rulers, and the ruling party—the Muslim League—is a religious party. In the resolution for the Pakistani parliament, the basis for the government was declared to be Islam.

In this atmosphere, it was not possible to provide equal citizenship to Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan. Then there were the incidents in Punjab and Sindh. It appeared that the two-nation theory was still at work and Pakistan is determined to throw out the minorities. Whatever the real goal of Pakistan, the facts continue to strengthen this assumption.

It was followed by Bengal and it appeared the action of expulsion was still going.

"What can be done to stop this terrifying situation?" Lakhs of people were asking this question. There are only two solutions—no third—according to the Socialist Party.

One solution is to accept all the elements of the two-nations theory. This means all Hindus must be expelled from Pakistan and all Muslims from India. I remember that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji had proposed exchanging Hindus and Muslims in West and East Bengal. Some other persons also had suggested it. However, they did not think about the fact that moving people from one place to another cannot be limited to

East and West Bengal. The logic of this situation will lead us to take extreme action.

This solution is repugnant to me. Those who know the principles of human civilization will also feel like I do. Believing in the principle that two people cannot live together because of different religions is analogous to returning to dark ages. It would be like accepting the rules that we have been objecting to until now.

The practical aspect of this option is not any less despicable. People just cannot be moved from their own homes without using force. Using force at such a huge quantity would be like treating all people in the country like animals and the whole life in the country would become bestial.

Additionally, such a mass exodus will also destroy the country's economy and put an unbearable burden on the government. Not only this, the exchange of 10 million Hindus for 40 million Muslims will create a series of new problems as Pakistan will think it appropriate to demand more area for settling the larger number of Muslims. This way, this solution will only create new problems.

Accepting this solution also mean recognizing Hindu factionalism and the concept of a "Hindu nation." This will result in spreading more separatism and this separatist movement will not be limited to religion alone; it will spread to racial, linguistic, and caste groups. That will destroy India.

Therefore, after looking at all angles, we have to give up the idea of moving populations from one country to another.

This leaves only one alternative. India and Pakistan both should be secular nations and the minorities in both countries must have full protection and equal rights.

These are the three main points of the Socialist Party of India.

India must remain firm on its secular stand and regardless of what happens in Pakistan, India must provide full protection and rights to the Muslims living here.

India should convince Pakistan through friendly talks to give all minorities the opportunity to have full security and progress both in words and in actions.

If our government is successful in its sincere efforts and the government and the people of Pakistan remain firm on their present policy, India must take all possible actions to protect the human rights of the minorities in Pakistan.

A lot can be said about the honesty of Pakistan's goals. Will it follow up on the agreement? This question is being asked all around. No one has thought about asking whether we will follow up on it or not. Any one can ask this question after seeing the emotions and letters written by the people in West Bengal.

Political Parties in Goa Prepare for Elections

95AS0046A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 30 Sep 94 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Parties Gear Up in Goa To Face Polls"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Panaji, September 29: Political parties in Goa are busy preparing for the assembly elections, scheduled to be held on November 16.

The Congress has its hands full with rival factions pulling in different directions. A total of 258 Congress members had filed their applications for the 40 constituencies in the state till Tuesday evening, the final day of submitting applications.

The much-talked about alliance between the Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has not taken any concrete form as far as sharing of seats is concerned. In south Goa, a new political force seems to be emerging with the entry of the former chief minister, Mr Churchill Alemao, and independent MLA, Mr Radharao Gracias, into the ranks of the United Goans Democratic Party formed by Mr Raghuraj Tamba in December 1992.

The Gomant Lok Poksh (Goa Peoples Party), headed by Mr Mathany Saldhana, which normally comes out in favour of environmental concerns, is expected to announce its election strategy shortly.

As usual in other elections the strongest in-fighting is among the Congress ranks with all 23 sitting MLAs as well as disqualified members, Mr Ratnakar Chopdekar, and Mr Sanjay Bhandekar staking their claims. The state tourism minister, Mr Carmo Pegado, who normally stood as an independent will join the Congress for the elections. He resigned his post on Monday to enable him to do precisely this.

Besides the sitting Congress MLAs, 15 former MLAs and two former MPs also filed their applications, thus making the task of the Congress leaders even more difficult.

Three of the Congress candidates have a clear field. The chief minister, Mr Wilfred D'Souza, the former chief minister, Mr Pratapsinh Rane, and the former agriculture minister, Mr Francisco Sardinha, who are fighting from Saligao, Poriem, and Curtorim respectively, are the only Congressmen who appear to have no competition from their own ranks.

The former chief minister, Mr Ravi Naik, and the state education minister, Mr Vinaykumar Usgaonkar, have filed their nominations from two constituencies.

The leaders of the MGP are still locked in discussions with the local BJP leaders, Mr Sripad Naik, and Mr Madhav Dhond over an electoral alliance. The MGP leaders feel that the demands of the BJP are extravagant.

Details of Ordinance Regulating Cable Television Given

95AS0054A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 1 Oct 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Government Ordinance To Regulate Cable Television"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, September 30. The government has promulgated an ordinance making it mandatory for cable operators to be citizens of the country and restricting foreign equity in such networks to 49 per cent.

The Cable Television (Regulation) Ordinance, 1994 also provides for compulsory transmission of two Doordarshan satellite channels, and empowers the competent authority to prohibit transmission of certain programmes in the public interest.

The ordinance, aimed at regulating cable TV in the country, also empowers the Central government to prohibit operation of cable TV networks in the public interest.

Yesterday's ordinance, which comes just two days before Star TV is launching its pay TV channel aimed at subscribers with special decoders, is generally on the lines of the report of the parliamentary committee of the communications ministry, which went into the general cable networks (regulation) bill earlier this year.

The government has also separately notified the cable television networks rules and notified the head postmasters of the head post offices in the country as the registering authority for registration of cable operators in the country on payment of a fee of Rs 50. The registration is renewable after every 12 months.

The ordinance provides the registration of the existing cable operators within 90 days, and makes the operation of non-registered cable networks an offence.

It provides for the cable operators adhering to the prescribed programme and advertisement code, and maintaining a register.

(The parliamentary committee had agreed with the operators that a register could only be maintained of programmes telecast from within the country, and not of the foreign satellite channels).

The ordinance says that the operators must replace their existing equipment with equipment meeting the specification laid down by the Bureau of Indian Standards within a period of three years from the publication of the Indian standards.

The ordinance also provides for seizure and confiscation of equipment of the cable operators on contravention of its provisions by the operators. It provides for punishment—fine, as well as imprisonment—for this purpose.

The ordinance is likely to jeopardise the launch of the STAR movies channel, since the films proposed to be shown in that channel will not be certified by the Central Board of Film Certification. The ordinance makes it clear that the operators will have to "adhere to the prescribed programme and advertisement code."

The cable TV networks (regulation) bill had been referred to the parliamentary committee in view of strong opposition from cable operators on various grounds, including their inability to check the content of programmes from a foreign satellite.

Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka Polls Crucial to Rao
95AS0047A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 1 Oct 94 p 17

[Article by M.D. Nalapat: "A.P., Karnataka Polls Crucial for Rao"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept 30.—With the announcement of polls by the election commission in four states two months hence, Central-level group politics within the Congress has moved into slow speed. Whether the anti-leadership moves will accelerate or die down will depend on the poll results, particularly in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

As the first Prime Minister from the south, it is crucial for Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao that the Congress retain both states. A defeat in one will give momentum to the moves to restrict his influence in inner-party matters. A defeat in both is likely to result in his being a one-term Prime Minister.

Although ranked lower in "protocol" terms than the home minister, Mr S.B. Chavan, within the party, the human resources development minister, Mr Arjun Singh, is still regarded as the leading contender for the office were Mr Rao to step down. In particular, Mr Singh has been spending substantial time and effort keeping in touch with party workers and members of Parliament (MPs). Privately, most Congress MPs complain that the Prime Minister has become almost inaccessible, making himself available only to a favoured few. In contrast, appointments with the human resources development minister can be fixed at less than a day's notice.

Significantly, there has been an important shift in attitude at 10 Janpath, residence of Mrs Sonia Gandhi, in recent times towards political leaders. While in the past, MPs and other politicians from the ruling party were not encouraged to make even courtesy calls, these days, Congress MPs say, they are given VIP treatment when they go to meet either Mrs Gandhi herself or her close aides. This, they underline is in contrast to the attitude displayed at 7 Race Course Road, the Prime Minister's house.

Although public expressions of dissent are absent, many Congress leaders are privately giving vent to their fear that the party may lose heavily in case of a fresh parliamentary poll. In particular, they point out that the

fiscal policies implemented by the Narasimha Rao government virtually have given no relief to either the middle class or small businesses, both crucial elements in a winning electoral mix.

With its ambivalent signals on the entry of foreign media, the Rao government has further strengthened the perception that it is more solicitous to foreign interests than it is to taking care of Indian ones. It is their factor that has led some influential members of the government—including the commerce minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, and, of course, Mr Arjun Singh—to stake out a more nationalist position on economic issues.

Despite public assertions that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] has been "tamed," Congress leaders from various states say that the basic reservoirs of support for the BJP are still intact, and that the party is growing in at least three crucial Congress-ruled states, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Mr Narasimha Rao's tactic of equivocation has, according to these leaders, confused the electorate in states such as Uttar Pradesh (where it is not clear whether or not the Congress supports Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav or not) and Andhra Pradesh (where the Congress alternately flashes Reddy raj and backward raj signals). The result may be that the party will fall between two stools, losing its existing supporters while not gaining many new voters.

In Karnataka, while the chief minister, Mr Veerappa Moily, is not prevented from articulating his backward class strategy, he has at the same time been hobbled by the inclusion of the powerful forward caste leader, Mr S.M. Krishna, as deputy chief minister. In Kerala, while it has been made clear that Mr K. Karunakaran, will continue as chief minister, his detractors within the Congress have not thus far been restrained from openly campaigning against his rule. Such "running with the hare and hunting with the hounds" tactics may not create problems when matters of state are running smoothly. However, it could lead to a snowballing revolt against the Central leadership should a crisis occur as, for example a Congress defeat in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

Within the Congress, once again it is Mr Arjun Singh who has positioned himself expertly to take advantage of a hung Parliament, should that eventuality occur in the next Lok Sabha polls. Rather than Mr Rao, it is Mr Singh who appears more acceptable to the left parties and to the Janata Dal, likely allies of the Congress in preventing the BJP from coming to power in the event of an inconclusive poll.

In line with his policy of allowing matters to take their natural course, the Prime Minister has thus far avoided a major revamp of either his cabinet or the AICC [All India Congress Committee]. There are numerous ministries that are floundering due to non-existent or inefficient leadership. The AICC, too, has become a "one-hour-a-day" affair, coming alive publicly only at the time of the daily press briefing. While initially party leaders expected a major reshuffle in both the AICC as well as

the cabinet, the mood these days is rather one of black humour at the Prime Minister's unwillingness to take a decision on these issues.

That a leader as cautious as the UPCC [expansion not given] chief, Mr N.D. Tiwari, who has a record of total fealty to whomsoever has been Congress president, could in effect challenge the Central leadership is an indication of the seething lava beneath the calm surface. Neither in Andhra Pradesh nor in Karnataka have any serious efforts been made thus far to give an effective reply to the political attacks made by the entrenched opposition. Should such complacency lead to a Congress defeat in both states, the effect will be much more pronounced in New Delhi than in Hyderabad and Bangalore.

Movements for Division of Uttar Pradesh Examined

95AS0024C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 3 Oct 94 p 4

[Commentary by Manoj Mishra: "Each Area is Demanding Autonomy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the Uttarkhand movement, voices from many corners are rising to divide Uttar Pradesh [UP]. The demand to divide this state has spread from Gaziabad to Gazipur and from Pithauragarh to Lalitpur. Leaders of various political parties, knowing well that there are more positive than negative aspects of having smaller states, have raised and buried this issues according to their needs in the past. It has also been proved that some major leaders who recognize this need in their hearts have opposed forming a smaller state because of political reasons. The politics of our leaders is dividing the people of this state all over again, however, the state itself is not being divided.

There have been demands to divide Uttar Pradesh into dozens of smaller states. However, organized demands have been made only for forming Uttarkhand or Uttaranchal in the hill districts, pachhmi [west] pradesh or doab [two river land] in the region between the Ganges and the Jamuna, Bhojpur Pradesh composed of the region east of Allahabad and some districts in Bihar, or Bundelkhand formed by some districts in Bundelkhand and regions of Madhya Pradesh where Bundeli language is spoken. The major reasons for these divisions should be economic, however, these demands are mostly made for political reasons.

The people living in the area between the Ganges and the Jamuna believe that their income is being used for developing regions in the eastern part of the state. How far is this true? That is a separate issue. However, one thing is certain: Western Uttar Pradesh has not progressed as have the agriculture-rich Haryana and Punjab. Both major cities of western Uttar Pradesh—Merrut and Agra—are near Delhi. These are being mentioned as an example. Both these cities have progressed because of the people and not the government. If small industries are removed from both cities, which will be removed soon because of Finance Minister Manmohan Singh's

policies, these cities will become bankrupt. Every fourth family in these cities is involved in one or the other small-scale industry or its members are employed in it.

The region between these two major rivers is such that floods come here only to benefit the officials and the leaders. There is almost no fear of drought. A farmer can easily harvest two or three crops a year. The closeness to the capital helps the farmers sell their crops at good prices. Except for some progress on its own, no government development work was done here. The railways have been here from the British era. The railway in Merrut, known as the capital of western Uttar Pradesh, has not been "electricized." Thanks to late Mr. Kailash Prakash, a university and medical college were established in Merrut. Otherwise, there was only the Agra University in addition to the Aligarh University there. Later, Ruhelkhand University was also established.

No achievement was credited to Chowdhery Charan Singh who has his special place in our country's politics. General Shahbaz Khan, the Merrut legislator, has been an influential cabinet member for many years, however, he did not do any thing for this region. This followed by the era of Mohsina Kidwai. It also went by similarly. Ajit Singh is still looking for his own niche. Neither an agriculture nor an engineering university has been opened in Merrut. What is more, Merrut perhaps is the only exception that despite its being an important metropolitan city, it has not been given a television or radio station. The question of an airport does not arise; we do not even have an air strip!

The people admit on their own that a lot of progress has taken place in the western part. It is true that if a separate state is formed of this region, it will be richer than Haryana. The total area of Haryana is equal to Merrut district. The proposed western state would be composed of Merrut, Muradabad, Agra, and Bareilly. The people who are campaigning for it keep changing the number of the districts to be included in it. The way these campaigns are run one has the feeling that there will be no new state since despite the assurance from all the parties and their leaders, they could not even get a high court in Merrut.

This movement started during Chowdhery Charan Singh's time. The way they allege that Narayan Dutt Tiwari would be stuck in Uttarkhand if it is formed, they accuse Charan Singh too. He supported the demand for a separate state very strongly in the beginning. He forgot this demand when he became the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh in 1967. Now his son Ajit Singh supports this demand.

Some people established Uttar Pradesh Vibhajan Samiti [Committee to Divide UP], another group established Doab Pradesh Sangharsh Samiti [Movement for a Two-River State], still another group formed Ganga Pradesh Samiti [Ganges State Committee] and all them had some meetings, discussion, and issued statements to newspapers. Their actions stopped there. Recently, Congress legislator Nirbhaypal Sharma organized a conference

called Harit Pradesh [Green State] in Saharanpur. Meanwhile, Sohanvir Singh Tomar, former legislator from Merut, has formed Uttar Pradesh Punargathan Samiti [UP Reorganization Committee]. He is supported by Samajwadi Party's Rajpal Singh and Lavkush as well as some leaders of the Congress (I), the BJP, and other parties. Both committees are doing only preliminary work.

The discussions on Uttarkhand make newspaper headlines. Gangacharan Rajput, the Janata Dal legislator, has raised demands for Bundelkhand. The situation in eastern Uttar Pradesh is exactly the opposite of that in western Uttar Pradesh. The western people complain that their money is used for developing the eastern region, however, the fact is that the eastern region has always been neglected. If we list the eastern region leaders the way we discussed the national leaders of the western region, we may have to write a separate article. If we consider Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi to be from Allahabad like Pandit Nehru then Lal Bahadur Shastri, V.P. Singh, Chandra Shekhar and other leaders that have ruled the nation all can be considered from eastern Uttar Pradesh. It does not matter how much misconception is spread in the name of development, one can tell that the eastern and the western regions are different without being told anything. Had the eastern region really developed, the people from there would not be moving to the western region to work as rickshaw pullers and laborers.

The fact is that the rate of progress has been so slow that it cannot be measured. The examples of Haryana, Punjab, and Himachal Pradesh are more appropriate because they are neighboring states. The progress made there tells us that if UP is divided, many problems can be resolved. However, this will need political will.

Controversy Over Urdu-Language Broadcasts Viewed

95AS0063A Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali
17 Oct 94 p 4

[Article by Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay : "In Connection With The Broadcast of Urdu News Bulletin From Channel One of Doordarshan"]]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent unfortunate incidents in Bangalore are proof of what a silly government policy can do. I have been noticing for sometime that just after the Bengali news, an Urdu news bulletin is being regularly broadcast from Channel One of Calcutta Doordarshan. Earlier, the West Bengal Doordarshan presented the Urdu news bulletin on Channel Two and, whatever may be the case, it did not at least, cause any additional loss to the few hours of allotted Bengali program in Channel One from afternoon to evening. Most probably at the pressure of shielding the business interests of the Metro Channel [which runs on Channel Two], the broadcasting of Urdu news was now pushed onto Channel one. The authorities, who make the policies, did not consider even once that as a result of this, the interests and needs of the people of the

state would be neglected. The principal objective behind the setting up of Doordarshan centers in different states of India is certainly for looking after the regional languages and culture, otherwise there was no need to open those centers. The need of the whole country could not be met by simply extending the broadcast of national program from Delhi Doordarshan. It needs to be further said that a federal system is existing in India, and so neither the federal government nor any of its ministry has the right to impose any autocratic policy without analyzing whether that would jeopardize the interests of the state or its people. In this connection some people might ask whether only Bengali speaking people be only considered as the resident of the state in case of West Bengal? It is not difficult to provide a suitable answer to this question. The bigger chunk of the people who live in West Bengal are the Bengali speaking persons. However, people speaking other languages also live in some areas of the state (especially in the Calcutta metropolis), and practically all among them, who permanently live in this state, at least understand one of the three languages—Bengali, Hindi and English. When Channel One of Doordarshan is broadcasting news in all the three languages, the omission of the Bengali program at a very important hour of the day for the purpose of accommodating the Urdu news bulletin in Channel One is not only meaningless, but also wrong. But the people of West Bengal have not protested against this injustice, even though no one is happy over this arrangement and remain very annoyed. Their irritation explodes especially on Sunday evenings when they watch Bengali movies and the Urdu news bulletin starts at that time. But until now they have neither uttered a word nor protested against it. The political parties of the state are also sitting quiet.

The people of Karnataka have done what the people of West Bengal could not do. They have jointly protested in the Bangalore city against the regular broadcasting of Urdu news bulletin from Channel One of Doordarshan thereby impairing the Kannada-language program schedule. I do not know and, in fact, I am not interested to know if there was a hand of any political party behind this agitation. The readers of BARTAMAN know pretty well that my job is not to flatter any political party, but to frankly speak out the truth on behalf of the common people. I also do not consider it as my duty to see which party has been hurt and who is benefited as a result of my telling the truth. I wish to state as a sensible and responsible citizen of federal India that the Indian constitution has not given any mandate to the federal government to hurt regional languages and cultures. The arrangement for regular broadcast of the Urdu news bulletin from Channel One of West Bengal and Karnataka Doordarshan is one such jolt. The people of Karnataka could not accept that jolt and to make it explicit they took out a protest demonstration in Bangalore city. I do not see anything wrong if behind it lies the connivance of all anti-government parties or any one of them in Karnataka.

But unfortunately, following the protest demonstration a communal riot broke out immediately in Bangalore and consequently some harmless and innocent people lost

their lives and many others received injury. This communal riot has demonstrated to what a dangerous degree the sectarian delusion and religious over-sensitivity have reached today in our country. Of course, there is no link between the demand for securing the due respect for the Kannada language and culture and opposition to Islam. But in the field of action the protest demonstration was considered as anti-Muslim because it was presumed that any opposition to the broadcasting of Urdu news bulletin at a fixed hour means an opposition to the Urdu language and any opposition to Urdu means impairing the prestige and interest of the Muslim community. It may not be irrelevant to guess that because of the existing erroneous trend in considering the Urdu language and Muslim community as synonymous to each other, the political parties in West Bengal—who are experts in the affair of making protests—did not utter a single word on the broadcast of Urdu news bulletin from Channel One of the Calcutta Doordarshan because they thought that any protest would offend the Muslims in the state and consequently affect their vote bank. But the thing that was necessary for the politicians of the state to realize and announce repeatedly before the public was that in eyes of religion a permanent resident of the state could be Hindu, Muslim, Christian or so forth, but their biggest identification is that they are Bengalis. Moreover, we could remind the persons who run the political parties in West Bengal that the best example of not always mixing the Urdu language with the Muslim community could be found from the Muslims living in the independent state of Bangladesh, situated only a hundred kilometers away from the city of Calcutta. In the eyes of religion, the majority of citizens in that state are Muslims, but their national language is not Urdu but Bengali. Not only that, the bloody struggle the Muslim community of that place once staged in the past in support of the Bengali language, will ever remain radiant in their history.

A question might be raised: if that was the case, then why the Muslim community in Karnataka did not extend an overt support to the protest against the broadcasting of Urdu news bulletin from Channel One of the Bangalore Doordarshan? And also why did they consider the issue from a narrow communal angle and vigorously resist the protest? These could be also answered quite explicitly. The primary demand of the people, who were expressing their discontent, was to continue uninterruptedly the Kanada program in Channel One and with that view in mind they protested against the broadcasting of the Urdu news bulletin. Unfortunately, the agitated Muslim community took a decision and stance without considering that point of view and it was grave mistake on their part. But the stage for that mistake was created by the policy of the federal government. Without showing any reason the federal government all of a sudden started broadcasting Urdu news bulletin from Channel One of Doordarshan and it was never proved that this arrangement had any rational or public oriented policy. It goes without saying that no effort was noticed

from the side of the government to prove such a thing. Naturally therefore, the people of the country thought that this sudden arrangement was made on behalf of the federal government not for any policy reason but just to satisfy the Muslim community for the sake of getting votes. And the Muslim community also saw the whole thing in the same light. Therefore, there was nothing surprising that the Muslim community in Karnataka looked at the demonstration and protest that was launched against the Urdu news broadcast from a communal angle. In other words, after reviewing the whole thing we come to conclusion that basically the mistake was done by the federal ministry of information and broadcasting and in the backdrop of that mistake the confused Muslim community in Karnataka made another new mistake. I wish to analyze now why do we say that the mistake was done by the federal ministry.

Hindi, which is recognized as the official language of federal India under 343(1) of the Indian Constitution, is the composition of two languages—Urdu and Hindustani. Yet Urdu is one of the 15 languages that got recognition as other languages under Schedule 8 of the constitution. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that practically all of the 15 languages are the principal languages of either of one state or the other. In other words, they are identified as the language of a region. But this regional distinction cannot go for Urdu language because the Urdu speaking people are more or less scattered in different states. Consequently, for relevant reasons it is was not possible to grant the same allotted time to Urdu as was done to other regional stations to broadcast programs in different regional languages from Channel One of Doordarshan. Now if the federal information and broadcasting ministry feels that despite the constitutional recognition of the Urdu language they have done something wrong by not regularly presenting the Urdu program from Doordarshan and also tries to justify it, then immediately a question will arise: why there is no arrangement for regular broadcasting of programs from Doordarshan in Sanskrit and Sindhi—the two languages which like Urdu come under the purview of Schedule 8 of the constitution? If in the case of Urdu equality becomes the policy of the federal ministry, then would the partiality toward it by disregarding Sanskrit and Sindhi languages be considered; for sheer ethical or political reasons? As the ministry could not show any ethical reason and it was also not possible for them to do so, everyone is rightfully noticing in a bigger way the political reasons in this regard. In other words, everyone thinks that the main objective of the federal government to suddenly become extraordinarily enthusiastic about the broadcast of the Urdu news bulletin is to flatter the Muslim community. In the impartial judgement it is a kind of communalism and if that has engulfed the Muslim society in Karnataka, then the blame for it should go not to them but to the federal ministry, which has sowed the seed of communalism. However, I don't know who has made the decision to

start Urdu news bulletin from Channel One—the minister of the information and broadcasting himself or his excessively enthusiast bureaucrats. But whomsoever it may be, he has not done a well-conceived job.

My further charge against the related federal ministry is that it has made a decision but has not taken any responsibility to implement it. In other words, if it is presumed that with some great non-political objective in mind it has decided to broadcast regularly the Urdu news bulletin from Doordarshan, our question then will be: why didn't it include the item in its own controlled national program from Delhi Doordarshan? In fact, if this item was broadcast in the national program keeping intact the schedules of the regional programs, then charges could be brought against those persons who took out the protest demonstration and be told plainly that they organized the demonstration with mere narrow communal interest. So, we have one petition to the federal government on behalf of the common people that they should keep their decision on broadcasting regular Urdu news bulletin from Doordarshan unchanged, and if desired, by upholding the ethical impartiality should make arrangements for the broadcast of news bulletins also in Sanskrit and Sindhi languages. But it should do this thing outside sphere of the given allotted time to the regional programs, or in other words, as a part of the regional program which starts at 8:29 PM. If this petition is not accepted immediately, then it will be proved to the people of the country that the government of India does not accept its responsibility of protecting the regional freedom at least with regard to decision making process of Doordarshan, and it goes without saying that its political consequence will not be good for the federal ruling party.

Effects, Rationale of Bundhs Viewed

95AS0063B Calcutta DESH in Bengali 22 Oct 94 p 5

[Editorial: "The Tale of Two Bundhs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When Lal Bahadur Shastri [former Indian prime minister] was the railway minister he said that if all the railway passengers board trains holding valid tickets, then he could install railway lines made of gold in the whole of India. Many people in this country travel without tickets. Not only the poor, even several well-to-do persons also consider it needless to buy any ticket. But it does not mean that the ticketless passengers incur no expenses. The railway department has appointed many ticket collectors to squeeze money [in the form of bribes] from ticketless passengers and pocket them! However, at times these collectors suddenly become responsible and being tough with the ticketless passengers try to collect fines from them against formal receipts and on failing hand them over to the police. They do not perform such a thing at the mere pressure of their sense of duty or conscience because the thing that is known as conscience, nowadays remains wrapped only in a very thick skin. They become aggressive only because they know that unless they show their

excellence of nabbing ticketless passengers at least once or twice a month, their sneaky income cannot continue throughout the year.

In one such unfortunate day a professor was caught at [Calcutta's] Sheldah station for travelling without ticket. He might have travelled several times earlier in this manner but due to his bad luck on that day he fell under the evil eyes of the ticket collectors. Professors are not a special class of people and so there was no reason to identify him separately. As cheaters and swindlers exist in all professions, why should we be then surprised to find some such persons among the professors? But the only difference between them and other persons is that on their side lies the might of the students. In this case too at the screaming of the professor many students gathered round him and after listening to his fiery speech, resorted to rampaging.

The railways have their own police forces to guard the property and they immediately resisted when destruction started at the Sheldah Station. As the agitating masses do not carry any lethal weapon in the hands in such kind of a sudden flare-up, common sense says that the baton charges by the police could have been adequate in meeting the situation. But Bankim Chandra [famous 19th century Bengali writer] has said long ago that the days of batons are over and that is really a fact. Our policemen have forgotten all about the technique of using batons and they also do not keep a stock of tear-gas with them. The use of water hoses or rubber bullets, which are prevalent in other civilized nations, still remained a theory in this country. The policemen over here know how to shoot from a real gun. Their marksmanship was so good that one of their bullets pierced the head of a sheer inquisitive young man standing far away from the site. A total of six persons were killed for the sake of a 10 to 12 rupees ticket.

The Congress leaders of the state are always very active and they immediately called a bundh [strike]! But a bundh against whom? The railway police is not directly dependent upon the state police. Moreover, to justify the indignation of the common masses, the chief minister has ordered a judicial inquiry without any further delay. Then what else could be the demand for the bundh? It is futile to find an answer to this query because the members of the Congress Party, who are split in factions and are also engaged in mud-slinging amongst themselves, could easily perform such irresponsible acts.

But what did Jyoti Basu do? He especially showed his wisdom by right away ordering a judicial inquiry into the incident, but on the same day of the bundh he declared his state's industrial policy. Did not he remember that his party had earlier called another bundh on 29 October? It was a bundh against the federal government's industrial policy, but at the meeting he accepted everything. That completely stupefied his partymen because after all it was a delicate matter. Meanwhile, there started a plague episode. The bundh could not be

abandoned as a prevention to this dangerous disease because he had already made a commitment for it and a gentleman cannot go back to his words. Besides describing them as incoherent utterances, what else could we call the arguments extended by the Left Front in support of the second bundh that was taking place within one week? Should the Left Front also engage itself in a competition with Congress Party irresponsibilities?

Six lives were lost and two working days wasted. After this should not the people, who are being invited to set up industries in this state, show their reluctance?

Iran

Customs Officials Arrested For Embezzlement

95LA0014D London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] The inspector general of the Islamic Republic and officials of Ahwaz, Abadan, Khorramshahr, and Jubideh [name as transliterated] customs offices were arrested for embezzlement of 320 million tomans. Hojjat ol-Eslam Taqavi, Shari'ah judge in Khuzestan and Lorestan, said: For a long time these individuals had formed a major network to create artificial problems in release of merchandise, to release banned merchandise, to take bribes, and to embezzle cash from customs offices. They had rented a house in Ahwaz as the base for their operations where they conducted negotiations with the parties concerned. Taqavi also revealed the embezzlement activities of another group within the oil company who, led by the former technical deputy production manager, had entered into major agreements with foreign companies.

New Bridge Connects Azarbaijan With Nakhichevan

95LA0014B London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 94 p 3

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week the first group of Iranian travelers and residents of Nakhichevan crossed the new bridge connecting Western Azarbaijan with Nakhichevan. This bridge, which has been named Pol-dasht, was built by the Islamic Republic over the Aras River and is considered the second major border crossing point between Iran and Nakhichevan. Iranian and Nakhichevani travelers crossed the bridge for the first time during ceremonies attended by the local officials. Jolfa was the only border crossing point between Iran and Nakhichevan. On Saturdays and Sundays, Iranians and Nakhichevanis will be able to travel as far as 45 kilometers into each other's country and stay up to 15 days without a visa. Nakhichevan, which is 5,500 square kilometers in size and has a population of 270,000, was separated from Iran during the Iran-Russia wars at the time of Fath 'Ali Shah of Qajar dynasty.

Thousands Not Obtained New Birth Certificates

95LA0014A London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] Three hundred thousand out of 400,000 birth certificates that have not renewed belong

to Iranians who reside abroad. Rahmani, the deputy interior minister and head of the office of vital statistics, announced the above and added: 99.5 percent of birth certificates in Iran have been renewed. Despite repeated notices and occasional threats on the need for renewal of birth certificates of Iranians residing abroad, they do not show any interest in renewing their birth certificates. Their lack of interest in renewal is primarily due to the fact that they are required to go to the Islamic Republic embassy for this transaction. Furthermore, the embassies do not renew a birth certificate without checking one's passport. This condition itself drives Iranians away from the embassies. Many Iranians abroad say that they do not need a new birth certificate because they do not have anything to do with Iran as long as the present regime is in power.

New Military Exemption Regulations Detailed

95LA0014B London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] The military draft organization has announced the conditions for draft exemption for those who reside abroad. According to the new regulations, those who did not clear their draft requirement by 21 March 1992, can avoid the service by payment of a fine. Individuals who can benefit from the new regulation are: those born between the beginning of 1949 and the end of 1959, who hold post-specialized, specialized, medical, dental, and veterinarian degrees; those born between 1955 and the end of 1965 who hold degrees in post-doctorate fields, in other than medicine at the doctorate level, and bachelor and master's level in medicine and other than medicine fields; those born between 1959 and the end of 1965 who hold an associate degree; and those born between 1959 and the end of 1969 who hold a high school diploma or lower. These new regulations, a list of various disciplines, and the set amount of the fine for a graduate in each discipline are listed below.

Required Documentation:

Parents or attorneys for those eligible for draft, who reside abroad, need to submit the documents listed below to the Tehran military draft organization to receive exemption certificates:

1. Copy of passport, notarized by the Iranian embassy in the country of residence of eligible individual.
2. Copy of the first and last pages of birth certificate of eligible individual (only new birth certificates are valid).
3. Original birth certificate of eligible individual.
4. Three pictures of 3x4 size.

Those who do not have a passport and have left the country illegally may go to the Iranian embassy, where they reside, and acquire a certificate stating their length of residency, date, etc. The Iranian embassies abroad have been instructed to provide necessary assistance for such eligible individuals.

Conditions For Acquiring Exemption

Explained below is the complete text of regulations for permanent exemption, valid until the end of the current year (1994/1995), from the draft during peacetime for 10 categories of absent individuals who are eligible for military service.

Article 1: Absent individuals, who are eligible for draft and did not clear their military service requirement by 21 March 1992, may pay a fine (according to the following schedule) and obtain exemption from service in peacetime.

- a. Those holding post-specialized, specialized, medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and veterinary degrees, who were born between the beginning of 1949 and the end of 1959.
- b. Those holding post-doctorate, non-medical doctorate, master's and bachelor's of medicine and non-medicine degrees, who were born between the beginning of 1955 to the end of 1965.
- c. Those holding associate degrees, who were born between the beginning of 1959 to the end of 1965, and those born between 1959 and the end of 1969, who have a high school diploma or lower or are illiterate.

Article 2: The set amounts of fines, to be paid for exemption by eligible individuals described in Article 1, according to the type of degree and discipline, are provided in the table below. [table omitted]

Editorial on U.S. Heavy-Handedness in Gulf

95LA0014E London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Sep 94 p 6

[FBIS Translated Text] Ryan Crocker, the U.S. ambassador to Kuwait, called on Iran to cease its offensive behavior in the Near East and end the occupation of the three islands of Tonb-e Bozorg, Tonb-e Kuchek, and Abu Musa. All Kuwaiti papers have enthusiastically printed his remarks. The U.S. ambassador took this pleasing action [to Kuwaitis] at a time when not only is the UAE [United Arab Emirates] delaying a just solution to the problem of Abu Musa and planning to take the matter to the Hague Tribunal, which has nothing to do with this issue, but it is also claiming "Arabness" for the two islands of Tonb-e Bozorg and Tonb-e Kuchek. The U.S. ambassador ought not to arbitrarily make such a statement to please his hosts. The U.S. President, who during his election campaign blamed George Bush for too much entanglement of the U.S. in foreign affairs at the cost of domestic issues, now treads the same path himself. The unfortunate intervention in Somalia, the wavering over Bosnia, and finally, the unbalanced relations of a superpower with Haiti are all indications that a superpower, and in this case the only superpower, cannot ignore the world events even if it wants to do so. If the U.S. ignores the world, the world will not ignore the U.S. On the priority list of U.S. foreign policy, the Persian Gulf is at the top. This priority was amply demonstrated by the

massive intervention by the U.S. to force Saddam Husayn's troops from Kuwait. Even before the large U.S. intervention, it was clear that this "guest" is there to stay, rather than to defeat the Iraqi dictator and return home. This is a clear departure from the Nixon Doctrine, which was to leave the fate of different regions of the world in the hands of regional governments, preferably those friendly to the West. In the Persian Gulf, the result of this doctrine was that Iran assumed its historic rule over the three islands. But this was not achieved easily. An unruly and irresponsible Iran could not achieve this objective. The skillful and elegant diplomatic game played by the Shah reached one of its high points in this regard. Presently, the Islamic revolution in Iran and the collapse of the Soviet Union have completely changed the strategic picture in the world. Although the United States is the unrivaled superpower, it should not be permitted to act arbitrarily. Any country, no matter how strong, eventually pays for its mistakes. U.S. support for Arab sovereignty and even ownership of the three Iranian islands is a serious mistake. Even if we ignore U.S. flirtations with the "moderates" in the Islamic Republic, we can assert that the U.S. is confronting the Islamic Republic and not Iran. The transformation of this confrontation with the Islamic Republic to one with Iran indicates that the Clinton administration is making serious mistakes in the arena of world politics. U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf is a matter between itself and the concerned governments who have defense pacts with it. But under no condition will Iranians swallow the "Arabness" of the Iranian islands. Also, Arabs need to know that they will not be dealing forever with an irresponsible, adventurous, and troublesome government [in Iran]. Violation of Iranian sovereignty is like an injury to our national pride, which will not heal so easily. Leaders of the Islamic Republic will face eternal blame for their inappropriate policies, which are among the factors leading to repetition of U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf.

News of Rafsanjani Publication Spreading

95LA0014A London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Oct 94 p 12

[FBIS Translated Text] With every passing day, the news of publication of a newspaper called IRAN, financed heavily by Rafsanjani, becomes more serious. Although it is not clear yet who is the proprietor of this newspaper, Rafsanjani himself or someone else, it is obvious that the chief editor is going to be Hosein Elhami, who is an old journalist. However he does not have sufficient knowledge and experience in political journalism. Hosein Elhami was the chief editor of the weekly ROUSHANFEKR [The Enlightened] magazine, managed by Rahmat Mostafavi, before it was closed down. He had entered the arena of [journalism] with the aim of attracting the enlightened class, but eventually changed direction and produced a favorite magazine for the masses. Elhami worked for the weekly ETELA'AT magazine, run successfully by Arvanqi Kermani, after

Roushanfekr was closed down. Elhami was more engaged in writing entertaining stories, in other words "novels." He also published a collection of poetry called *Cries in Silence* which was not more successful than his novels. In any case, one of the hot subjects of discussion in press circles in Iran today, is this newspaper. The question asked by everyone is why Rafsanjani needs such a newspaper? The most convincing answer is that he calculates that after the end of his second term as president, he will not have anything to hang to, and even if he does, it will be under the scrutiny of Valey-e Faqih. Presently, he is being made breathless by the members of the Majles who raise the issue of "investigating" his cabinet ministers. In light of this, it is understandable that he considers a newspaper of acceptable quality as a stronger basis for himself. But the question is whether his rivals will allow it to gain strength, assuming that there are no upheavals taking place soon.

On Montazeri as Source of Emulation

95LA0014A London KEYHAN in Persian
20 Oct 94 p 11

[FBIS Translated Text] For some time now, emulation of Ayatollah Montazeri by a group of commanders and members of the Revolution Guards has caused tension and disquiet in the Corps. In recent months, the fear of this spreading problem has worried the officials of the Islamic Republic. In a letter, which is likely to have been composed by the officials themselves, the Representation Office of the Supervision Council has asked some questions from Ayatollah Movahedi Kermani, the representative of Valey-e Faqih in the Revolution Guard, on the suitability of Ayatollah Montazeri as the source of emulation for Shiites. The representative of 'Ali Khamene'i has responded to such questions in support of the interest of the regime. The first question is whether members of the Revolution Guard are permitted to emulate Ayatollah Montazeri. The second question, which is not really a question but rather a warning, states that emulation of Ayatollah Montazeri by some members of the Revolution Guard leads to behavior that is contrary to the standards of Islamic Revolution Guards. The representative of Valey-e Faqih in the Revolution Guard has responded: "It must be understood by emulators of Ayatollah Montazeri that sources of emulation must possess certain qualifications that are absent in him. They must reconsider such emulation, and every counter-revolutionary move must be dealt with according to the laws."

It is worth mentioning that in Shiism, choosing a source of emulation is not carried out by government or administrative decree, but each person is free to choose his own source. For example, during the third term of the Majles, Morteza Alviri, then Majles deputy and current head of "free trade zones," clearly pronounced that Mr. Montazeri is an excellent source of emulation. He is followed by almost 100 Majles deputies.

Pakistan

Nawaz Sharif Intentions Analyzed

95AS0020D Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 4 Sep 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Why is Nawaz Sharif So Anxious To Return To Power?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Leader of the opposition, Nawaz Sharif, declared for the first time in a general meeting in Abbottabad that he did not accept the results of the 1993 elections on the grounds that his party was winning up to 14:00 hours, and then the situation suddenly changed. Even an ordinary citizen would regard Sharif's criterion for rejecting the results of the 1993 elections, as childish and wrong. Election data announced at any given time are based on the votes that have been counted up to that time and the positions of the various parties change repeatedly; the final standing of any party is not determined until all the votes from all the precincts have been counted. The total results of the 1993 elections were universally accepted and everyone also acknowledged that the October 1993 elections were in every way free, equitable, and clean. Nawaz Sharif himself accepted this fact.

All of a sudden now, Nawaz Sharif has adopted the wrong tactic of rejecting the 1993 election results; he is determined to imitate Benazir by undertaking the long march, the train march and the salvation movement. Benazir has herself reminded him that it takes intelligence to imitate and that Nawaz Sharif has proved his lack of the same. Benazir, and many others from within and outside the country, openly called the 1990 elections fraudulent, whereas the 1993 elections were so clean that no one, not even Nawaz Sharif challenged their results.

Sharif is refusing to accept the results of the 1993 elections now, after 11 months on the grounds that after 14 hours, his party lost its lead. This loss was obviously not due to any mistake on the part of those counting the votes. Sharif and his followers were destined to lose because the majority of the people voted for the People's Party and its supporting parties. At any rate, the question of who gained the majority could be settled only after votes for all the seats were counted. Sharif is apparently immature and awkward imitating Benazir Bhutto.

Sharif's negative and confrontational attitude towards Benazir since she assumed office is regarded by other political parties and the public as unjustified. Even the individuals who had a warm corner in their hearts for Sharif and voted for him, after seeing the public mandate and Sharif's constant obstruction and opposition to the new government, are now forced to regard his behavior as unwarranted. The clear proof of this fact is that in spite of his unrelenting opposition to the government over the last 10 or 12 months, Sharif has failed to persuade the people to take to the streets. Now he is forced to adopt the comparatively safe option of the train march.

But what will be the end result of all these dramatic actions? Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Pir Pagara, Mir Zafarullah Jamali, Maulana Sami-ul Haq and several other politicians who oppose the People's Party regard Sharif's policy of protest as untimely and unwarranted. They have asked him repeatedly what he hopes to achieve by the long march or the train march. Sharif thought that since the Frontier's red shirts were already on his side and Sindh's MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] members might join him as well, he would be able to create some disturbance along the route of the Khyber Mail from Karachi to Peshawar. However, seeing such individuals as Wali Khan, Ghulam Ahmad Billaur, and Ajmal Khatak join Sharif in his journey, people throughout the country have begun to doubt Sharif's own patriotism. Sharif and his companions have failed to gain Altaf Hussain's support; it thus appears that the pillars Sharif was leaning on have let him down and, in his disappointment, he is talking nonsense. Qazi Hussain, leader of Jamaat-i-Islami, has even told Sharif that it is possible that an army maverick would wish to undertake another adventure and Sharif himself might be hoping for martial law but that martial law would never be imposed. Qazi Ahmad has hit the nail on the head, for it appears that Sharif is in a hurry to return to office. But even if his movement should succeed in restoring him to office, how would that benefit the people?

The unfortunate fact is that no advice, conciliatory or harsh, has any effect on a misguided man like Sharif. We have said repeatedly in these columns in regard to Sharif's totally negative policy that he will not rest until he has tried all the tricks of his negative policy and failed. His restless quest for office will be dampened only after his train march fails and his mercurial nature may then cause him to leave the country and head for London as did his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif. We think that if Sharif wants to engage in politics in Pakistan, he will have to accept the bitter facts of political life. He bears the respectable title of the leader of the opposition and elections will be held again after

four years. He should abandon his obsession with a speedy return to office and wait for his turn. Over five years, everyone will be able to judge how far Benazir's government will have succeeded in carrying out its program. The government's performance will give Sharif and the rest of the opposition the opportunity to try their luck in the next elections. But Sharif is in a hurry to return to power by sabotaging the democratic process, and in his obsessed pursuit of this aim he is not willing to allow the elected government to stay in office even for a year. The result of such haste may be to expel Sharif himself permanently from politics.

Manufacture of Anti-Aircraft Missiles Said Complete

95AS0058B Karachi JANG in Urdu 1 Oct 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Manufacture of Anti-Aircraft Missiles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Under the leadership of the director of the Kahuta Research Laboratories, Pakistan scientists have developed modern surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles. According to defense experts, these missiles are more sensitive and faster than the missiles being used by the Pakistani army and are comparable to any modern missiles in the world. These missiles can be fired from a person's shoulder in a war and can target any enemy plane flying at twice the speed of sound from any direction from 7,000 kilometers. Dr. Qadeer Khan presented the first batch of anti-aircraft missiles to the Pakistani army. The news of development of anti-aircraft missiles is comforting to us and proves that if we encourage our experts while confronting international pressure and restrictions, we do not have dearth of talented and brilliant persons who can make our nation self-sufficient in this area. Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program, successful experiments on Hatf missiles, and production of anti-aircraft missiles proves that we can get rid of the blackmail tactics of foreigners by producing modern weapons here. All we need is political courage and decision.

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